



GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA

MAHARASHTRA ARCHIVES
BULLETIN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES

No. 5

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TARIKH-I-SHAH ALAM

BY
MUNNA LAL.

The *Tarikh-i-Shah Alam* is a Persian Manuscript written by Munna Lal, son of Bahadur Singh Munshi. It is a History of the reign of Shah Alam II. It begins with the departure of Shah Alam II from Allahabad, on his way to Delhi (A. H. 1184). The events of the reign are recorded year by year, down to the 24th year (A. H. 1196). This MS was used by W. Francklin for his *History of the reign of Shah Aulum*.

Both *Ibrat Nama* written by Khairuddin as well as *Tarikh-i-Shah Alam* are journals in Persian. Portion of these authentic works relating to the period from August 1771 had been translated into English by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. We have already published a translation of *Ibrat Nama* prepared by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in our *Bulletin* No. 2 by the kind courtesy of his grand son Capt. S. K. Sarkar, his legal heir and successor. We are grateful to him for giving us permission to publish an abridged English translation of this MS also.

The narration which is now published here gives the story of Shah Alam II from 1771 A. D. Shah Alam, who was for many years in Allahabad, left that place on 17th April 1771 for Delhi under the guidance of the Marathas, headed by Mahadji Sindia.

During the Emperor's stay at Allahabad, Najib-ud-daula was conducting the Delhi affairs as the Regent of the Mughal Empire. When news of his death on 31st October 1770 reached Shah Alam at Allahabad, the Emperor first sent to Zabita Khan (the eldest son) the usual condolences and robes of investiture for succession to his father's high office of Mir Bakshi. He also bestowed on him the title of *Amir-ul-umara*, and ordered him with his forces as escort to the Emperor to Delhi. At the same time, Zabita was instructed to pay *Nazarana* for his succession.

Zabita assumed the robe of Mir Bakshi (29th December 1770), but refused to comply with the Emperor's other orders.

At this time the Maratha army headed by Visaji Krishna, Tukoji Holkar and Mahadji Sindia had gained the lost prestige in the North India. Mahadji Sindia sent a secret offer to the Emperor of his escort and restoration to Delhi.

The Emperor immediately came to terms with the Marathas, who had wrested Delhi Fort from Zabita's agent, and occupied it in the Emperor's name. A formal treaty was signed with them for escorting Shah Alam to his Capital. The Emperor, escorted by the Marathas, set out on his march to Delhi in May 1771, along with Najaf Khan who was given Rs. 50,000 for equipping his contingent for following the Emperor on his march.

While Shah Alam was on his way to Delhi, it was the duty of the Bakshi to pay his loyal respects and offer the customary and congratulatory presents to

the Emperor. But Zabita Khan didn't do either. Yet the Emperor did not punish Zabita, perhaps out of regards for his father, Najib. Beginning with this incident Munna Lal tells us how within six years of Shah Alam's coming to Delhi (1772-1778) his government was relieved of the menace of over-grown vassals like Zabita Khan, Nawal Singh Jat, Rajput princes and the Sikhs who had usurped the land round Delhi and had denied imperial authority. A story of court intrigues faced by the Emperor and regency rule of Mirza Najaf, Shafi, Afrasiyab and Mahadaji Sindia is told briefly by Munna Lal in this MS.

After Emperor's arrival at Delhi on 7th January 1772 when Zabita was summoned to the Court he behaved arrogantly with the messenger, and prepared for fight. The Emperor at once ordered Visaji and Mahadji Sindia to punish Zabita who was at this time in Pathargad. Shakartal also belonged to him and it was a strategic place cis-Jumna. Pathargad campaign of the Marathas is vividly described in the *Ibrat Nama* and by the Maratha newswriters¹. The sack of Shakartal and Pathargad in 1772 robbed Zabita of all his wealth and prestige.

The Emperor wanted to punish the vassals, who had usurped land round Delhi and defined the Imperial authority. Naval Singh Jat, then ruling Agra District² was defeated by Najaf on 18th February 1774, and brought to knees under the orders of the Emperor.

After the capture of Shakartal and Pathargad, Zabita Khan was reduced to an ordinary vassal with a *saranjam* of 12,000. But this did not deter him to be arrogant with the Emperor and openly defy imperial forces. Once again Zabita was punished, but was pardoned as he appeared in the Court with his hands tied on 6th January 1776³.

For the third time Zabita made a common cause with the Sikhs and plotted against the Emperor. Najaf was ordered to crush Zabita with the help of Himmat Bahadur and Umraogir Gosavi⁴. From 7th June to 14th September 1777, many an engagement was forced on Zabita; in the final fight, however, he fled away from Ghausgarh. It was captured by the Imperial army and Zabita's property attached and his family ordered to be taken to Agra.

Thereafter the Emperor returned to Delhi. The beginning of 1778 was marked by a bloodless campaign against Jaipur Raja.

The Emperor arrived at Delhi on 21st April 1779 and Mirza Naif then left for Agra, the seat of his administration and his favourite residence. But he could not rest for and he was called upon to deal afresh with the Sikhs of Sirhind. In May 1780 the Emperor ordered Najaf to send a strong force against the Sikhs who were raiding the Doab⁵. The Sikhs were made to turn back across the river.⁶

¹ Selections from the *Peshwa Daftar*, xxix, 283, pp. 337-40, 343.

² Paragraphs 151-152.

³ Paragraphs 174

⁴ Paragraph 184.

⁵ Paragraph 227.

⁶ Paragraph 227.

Marriage of prince Akbar Shah, death of Mirza Najaf on 6th April 1782, and appointment of his successor are other incidents dealt with by the author⁷.

In April 1782, Prince Mirza Jawan Bakht was commissioned to march against the Sikhs who were constantly creating trouble in the region east of the Jamna.

After the death of Najaf (6th April 1782), his four Lieutenants Afrasiyab, Najaf Quli Khan (his nephew's son), Mirza Muhammad Shafi and Muhammad Beg Hamadani conspired to upset the Emperor's arrangements. Shafi and Muhammad Beg Hamadani joined their hands against Najaf Quli Khan and imprisoned him. The Emperor much annoyed with the two stalwarts, pardoned Muhammad Beg and Shafi, on their written expression of loyalty⁸. They won the imperial favour by carrying the Emperor's throne on their own shoulders to the fort of Agra⁹.

Mirza Muhmed Shafi established friendship with Mahadji Sindia¹⁰. A plot against Shafi's life by Afrasiyab is explained in detail by Munna Lal¹¹.

The Emperor already displeased at the murder of Shafi heard also escape of Jawan Bakht (12th April 1784) to Lucknow¹². The Prince joined the English who granted Rs. 4 lakhs a year to him¹³.

Afrasiyab planned to punish Muhammad Beg Khan, the murderer of Shafi with the help of Mahadji Sindia, with the approval of the emperor¹⁴.

When Mirza Shafi was assassinated, his brother Zainulabidin Khan, governor of Meerat, decided to avenge the murder and deputed his followers to Afrasiyab's camp on 29th October 1784.

Afrasiyab Khan was murdered in no time and the murderer also was killed. Mahadji Sindia sent his envoy Ambaji to the Emperor, in expression of loyalty to the Emperor. Sindia was appointed in consequence *Wakil-i-Mutlaq* and *Amir-ul-Umara* (4th December)¹⁵.

The Sindia lost no time in appointing a number of officers of his choice to manage affairs of Delhi. He also reformed the fief system. Vested interests of the Mughal nobility could not tolerate the new broom and there were moves to oppose Sindia. They formed alliance with the Rajput Princes. Mahadji on his part to win over Rajput support wanted to marry his younger daughter to the Jaipur Raja. But the Raja having declined, Sindia as *Amir-ul-Umara*, decided to punish the Jaipur Raja as he had not paid the tribute to the Emperor.

The battle of Lalsont is described and the information supplements the narration given in the *Ibrat Nama* by Khair-ud-din.

The Sindia lost nearly three years in his fight with the Rajputs and also lost his prestige and money. His trusted assistants like Himmat Bahadur deserted him and joined the Jaipur Raja.

⁷ Paragraphs 229-239.

⁸ Paragraph 266.

⁹ Paragraph 268.

¹⁰ Paragraph 273

¹¹ Paragraph 280.

¹² Paragraph 290.

¹³ Paragraphs 274-277.

¹⁴ Paragraph 284.

¹⁵ Paragraph 293.

Similarly a number of Hindustani troops went over to Jaipur Raja. The desertions caused despair in Sindia's camp and a signal for retreat was given. So Mahadji marched towards Dig, went to Alwar, Rewari and crossed the Chambal. Gulam Qadir, watching the scene from his tents across the Jamuna, jumped at this opportunity and expelled the Maratha garrison, presented himself with the news of success to the Emperor and received Khilat¹⁶. Later he reduced the fort of Aligarh, and joined Ismail Beg in besieging the Maratha general Lakwa Dada, at Agra. Gulam Kadir's association with Ismail Beg, their triumphs over the Marathas are explained by the author.

In absence of Mahadaji the Emperor sought the help from Begam Samru who had come to Delhi by rapid marches. A clash of interest between Gulam Qadir and Begum Samru followed. Gulam Qadir escaped the heavy shelling and retired to Aligarh to meet Ismail Khan.

Jaipur Raja's visit to the Emperor at Rewari and the tributes paid to the Emperor¹⁷, are other incidents described.

Treacherous act of Najaf Quli, Emperor's return to Delhi on 22nd March 1788, ordering Mahadaji to punish Ismail Khan and Gulam Qadir, who had risen in rebellion in the Agra and Aligarh districts, Emperor meeting Prince Jawan Bakht and his death on 31st May 1788¹⁸, are further events of the narration.

The writer relates the story of fight between Rana Khan on one hand and Ismail Beg and Gulam Qadir on the other. Rana Khan captured Delhi fort and offered presents to the Emperor¹⁹. Rana Khan pursued Gulam Qadir and dragging him from his hiding place at Sonpat, was put to death by Mahadji Sindia.

The writer has next related the story of Shah Alam. He reports how Ismail Beg was reconciled by Sindia, and how he became treacherous to Sindia. Perron, later arrested Beg and he was locked in Agra fort where he died after some years.

The story ends with Sindia's departure for the Deccan with Gopal Rao Bhau in charge of Hindustan.

In preparing this work for the Press, the Editor had the help of Shri S. P. Desai, Research Assistant.

V. G. K.

¹⁶ Paragraph 313.

¹⁷ Paragraph 321.

¹⁸ Paragraph 330.

¹⁹ Paragraph 340.

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TARIKH-I-SHAH ALAM

BY
MUNNA LAL.

121 Zabita¹, unlike his loyal and tribute-paying father, neither came to see the Emperor, nor sent any of his trusted agents² to Court (when the Emperor was halting at Nabiganj³ 1771).

122 But the Emperor, out of regard for Najib Khan, rejected the advice of his ministers to chastise Zabita before going to Delhi. After Emperor's arrival at Delhi⁴, when all other Rajahs and chiefs presented themselves and paid tribute, Zabita did not do so.⁵ The Emperor sent him a *farman* summoning him.⁶ Zabita remained in contumacy and engaged in gathering troops and preparing for war⁷. Then the Emperor's advisers urged prompt measures against Zabita, as delay would only enable him to increase his forces.

124 Emperor's advance tents sent to garden of Mir Zeba, opposite Delhi (on 16th January 1772), the Emperor entered them⁸. Mirza Najaf Khan (formerly served the Emperor with a *risala* of 1,500 troopers, soon gradually rose to be commander of 70,000 horse and foot and to the post of Mir Bakshi⁹ and Wakil-i-mutlaq.

125 As Tukoji was in concert with Zabita¹⁰, it was considered inexpedient to let him encamp at a distance from the imperial camp; so he was ordered to encamp 10 *kos* in advance as the imperial vanguard" (—22 Jan.) Hisamuddin

¹ Zabita Khan was the eldest son of Najib-ud-daullah, the Rohilla Chief. On his father's death (31st October 1770), the Emperor, Shah Alam sent to him the usual condolences and also a robe of investiture for succession to his father's office of Mir Bakshi, with the attached title of Amir-ul-Umara, and asked him to come with his forces and escort the Emperor to Delhi. Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, Vol. iii, p. 47.

² Zabita's Munshi, Rai Shyam Lal had come for interview on 19th November (1771), but he was excluded from the Darbar. *Persian Records of Maratha History*, Vol. i, pp. 47-48.

³ On 15th November, Shah Alam, was at Nabiganj, Datta, *Shah Alam II and the East India Company*, p. 59.

⁴ The Emperor entered into Delhi Fort, on 7th January 1772. *PRMH*, i, p. 55.

⁵ *PRMH* (i, p. 55), says "Zabita's envoy, munshi Shyam Lal, has offered Nazar and Nisar for the Id, but no compromise has been effected on account of the exorbitant demand for tribute and surrender of guns". See also. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. iii, Ls. 987, 997.

⁶ *CPC* iii. L. 538; Sarkar, iii. p. 49.

⁷ *PRMH*, i, p. 55.

⁸ *PRMH*, (i, p. 56), says, "on 17th January, the Emperor accompanied by his sons and Zinat Mahal, entered his tents near Shehdara, on the other side of the Jamuna".

⁹ *CPC*, iv, L. 473.

¹⁰ *CPC*, iii, L. 571; *PRMH*, i, p. 31.

¹¹ "Tukoji Holkar alighted four *kos* in advance close to Visaji's as he had no help but to go with him!"—says *PRMH*, i, p. 56.

Khan appointed vice Saifuddin Muhammad Khan¹². By regular marches, the imperial army reached the bank of the Ganges ; spies reported that Zabita had entrenched the opposite bank¹³.

At 3 hours before dawn, 23 February, Najaf and other generals crossed the river. The Ruhelas on the opposite bank fired their muskets to prevent them ; but the imperialists fell upon them sword in hand. Severe fight¹⁴, the enemy fled away. Sadat Khan Afridi and his brother Sadiq Muhammad Khan, who were tigers of the battle-field, scorning the shame of flight, drove their horses upon Najaf Khan's army, challenged the Khan¹⁵. Najaf, roused by the two Afghans' cry of "an ! an", advanced to encounter them. Both were slain by the hand of Najaf Khan. Among the slain were Karam Khan Razzar and Ali Muhammad with unity (*ek chashn*), two chiefs. Zabita who was in Shakartal, fled away¹⁶ as soon as he heard that the imperial army had crossed the Ganges. Rewards to victors.

The Emperor at once ordered Visaji and Mahadji to cross the Ganges and capture Pathargarh¹⁷, lest the money and other property of Zabita should be removed from it ; they were ordered to follow Najaf's advice in attacking, and were strictly ordered to respect the women of Zabita in that fort.

The Maratha Sardars and Najaf entered that fort as ordered. The faithless Marathas seized all the artillery and treasures of Zabita as well as his horses, elephants and other property¹⁸, and offered to give a worthless fraction to the Emperor¹⁹. Najaf wanted to attack them. The Emperor forbade proposing to dismiss the Marathas after reaching Delhi.

Fakhruddin Khan (son of late Itimaduddaulah Qamruddin Khan) was appointed *faujdar* of Saharanpur. The Emperor's wish to return to Delhi was published. Visaji and Tukoji Holkar strongly and humbly urged him to go to Allahabad province, in order to realise tribute for Bengal and Bihar from the English sardars, to his heart's content, and take a proper *peshkash* from Shuja²⁰, but the Emperor declined as he had seen Maratha faithlessness in the division of the spoils of Pathargarh. Mahadji Sindhia secretly advised the Emperor to return to Delhi.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 56.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 57.

¹⁴ *Ibrat Nama* (I, 205, 206), describes this battle at Shukratal, more descriptively.

¹⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁶ *Ibrat Nama*, says that Zabita first went to Faizullah, and then in Hafiz Rahmat's territory, (*Ibid*). *PRMH* (i, A28b, p. 57) says that he fled away from Shukratal towards the mountains.

¹⁷ For detailed account of the seize and capture of Pathargad, see *Ibrat*, i, 208-210 ; *PRMH*, i, p. 58.

¹⁸ The detailed statement of the gains of the Marathas at Pathargad is given in *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, xxix, L. 283, pp. 337-40, 343.

¹⁹ Dado Malhar, Visaji's agent, "agreed to pay two lakhs of rupees to the Emperor on account of the attached property in Pathargarh" and accordingly Visaji paid two lakhs to the Emperor. *PRMH*, i, p. 59.

²⁰ *PRMH* (A 29, p. 59), speaks of secret engagement between Shuja and Marathas. See also *SPD*, xxix, L. 276.

131 One day Tukoji and Visaji went to the tents of Hisam, and vehemently pressed for the march of the Emperor to the East ; the alteration attained to such bitterness that the followers on the two sides got ready for fighting. The Emperor, hearing of it, ordered Najaf to arm and stand ready for falling upon the Marathas as soon as they would attack Hisam. The Maratha sardars on hearing of it, knew that as the Emperor's forces and artillery were in superior strength to theirs, they would not be able to win. So they agreed to submit to the Emperor's decision. The army returned to Delhi²¹ (after six months).

132 *14th year begins, 31st July 1772.*

133 Enthronement *darbar* on 9 August.

134 On 17th November 1772, Mons, Rene Madec²² was received in audience through Najaf Khan, seeking to enter the Emperor's service²³.

135 That day at noon Zinatunnisa Begam (the Queen Mother) died, after a long illness. Buried in Zinat-bari, built by her in her lifetime.

136 Zabita rebels in alliance with Tukoji, Zabita (known to be very rich) promising to pay some lakhs of rupees won Tukoji over to his side²⁴ and the two marched, encamped below Shaikh Muhammad. During the Patharagarh expedition the Emperor in justifiable suspicion had placed Tukoji and Visaji 10 *kos* in his Van, with Najaf watchfully following them. Now their treachery became manifest.

137 Mahadji, who had some sense of shame, separated himself from them, marched away and be-took himself to a corner²⁵. Hisam, out of envy²⁶ for Najaf Khan, joined the Maratha cause and urged the Emperor to pardon Zabita and appoint him *Amir-ul-Umara*²⁷. The Emperor agreed on condition that Zabita Khan presented himself at Court without any intermediary. Najaf Khan spoke against this policy. The Emperor agreed with the latter. Hisam told the Maratha Sardars that Najaf was their enemy at Court and without defeating him by fighting they would not obtain their prayer²⁸. He promised to them to vacate his trenches during the battle.

The Emperor ordered Najaf Khan to go with the imperial *paltans* and entrench in the plain below the Nila Burj, for resisting any Maratha Sardar who would advance.

Najaf went with three French *paltans* of Madec and the Emperor's *risala* (not exceeding 1,000 troops) and took post in the plain below the Nila Burj.

²¹ The Emperor reached Delhi by long marches on 9th July 1772. *Ibrat*. I, 212, (p. 5).

²² Monsier Rene Madec—(born : 7th February 1736)—In 1742 he came to India, as a recruit of French East India Company. He was taken prisoner by the English at Jinjee, consented to serve the English army in Bengal. He deserted the English army in 1764. He was seduced by the Emperor in October 1772. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 269; Sarkar, iii, pp. 78, 93, 106.

²³ See the extract from Hadee's *Memoire*, quoted by Sarkar, (iii, p. 66 note).

²⁴ PRMH, i, p. 63. See also *Ibrat*. I, 215, (p. 6).

²⁵ "Sindia had during the whole action remained a tranquil spectator of it, at a distance—says Polier (*Shah Alum II and His Court*, p. 30).

²⁶ Hisamuddin Khan's envy at the rise of Najaf—see *Ibrat*. I, 214-215 (p. 6).

²⁷ See PRMH, i, A32.

²⁸ Hisam plotted with the Marathas to ruin Najaf. *Ibrat*. I, 216, (p. 6).

The Deccanis advanced. Severe battle²⁹. The enemy seemed about to be defeated, when Hisam, who held the trenches below the *Jharoka*, fired blank charges from his guns ; the Marathas charged on that side, and Hisam's troops retired vacating their trenches. The Marathas reached the Delhi Gate and seized two of the Emperor's own elephants reaching the imperial *Filkhanah*.

On hearing of it, Najaf Khan, did not deem it proper to fall back ; so he kept his position firmly. Mirza Hasan (the son of Najaf's brother) advanced, beat back the enemy, received a cannon-ball in his arm. The Deccani myriads kept the *paltans* encircled till sunset, but were compelled to retire to their camp by the incessant gunfire.

4 *gharis* after nightfall Najaf came to the Emperor and reported Hisam's treachery. The Emperor ordered his troops to remain within the walls and not to step beyond from next day onwards. But he deemed it inexpedient to punish Hisam then and so rewarding him left it to him to compose this quarrel.

Dado Malhar, the Maratha envoy, used frequently to visit Hisam on peace parleys ; he had not come for 2 days on account of the fighting. So Hisam sent his trusted agent to Dado, calling him, and advising Tuko and Visaji to submit as the best course, now that the Emperor was alienated.

So the Deccani Sardars sent Dado Malhar with petitions to the Emperor (uniting in their plans with the Regent) and he was presented by Hisam at dawn of 27 December 1772, and took the list of demands of the Deccani Sardars after signature by the Emperor.

When one *pahar* of the day still remained Visaji and Tukoji brought Zabita with his wrists tied together to the Emperor³⁰, who found it expedient to pardon him and appoint him *Amir-ul-umara*³¹ and restore Saharanpur district to him. Hisam, who disliked Najaf, wishing to remove him from the Court, told the Maratha Sardars that if Najaf stayed at Court he would upset all this arrangement³². So the Maratha Sardar sent Dado Malhar to ask Najaf to come away from the capital for some time. He refused, challenging them. On 30th December 1772, on the further side of Mori Gate the Marathas arrived for battle. Najaf was then living in Ismail Khan's house which is close to the Mori Gate. He rode out and fought them, slaying many. The Marathas, seeing his desperate bravery, sent Dado Malhar³³ with *bel* leaves inviting Najaf to come to their tents for some time as Hisam did not trust him. Najaf out of loyalty to the Emperor, wishing to avert war, upon the city,—strengthened the oaths and on 20th January 1773, went to see Visaji and Tuko with 70 armour-clad soldiers, himself wearing a green robe. Well received, friendly relations established³⁴. He accepted their

²⁹ The battle is more particularly described in *Ibrat*. (I, 216-218). See also *CPC*, iv, L. 122 ; Polier, pp. 28-29 ; Franklin, *The History of the reign of Shah Aulum*. p. 45.

³⁰ *CPC*, iv, L. 138.

³¹ *Ibid*, L. 122.

³² Polier, p. 31.

³³ "Sultanji (Lambhate) and Babuji Hari, were sent as envoys to Najaf," says *Ibrat*, I, 220 (p. 8). See also Polier, p. 32.

³⁴ Cf. *Ibrat*, I, 221.

proposal to accompany them and encamped near their tent, receiving Rs. 5,000³⁵ as daily allowance to guest.

The Maratha Sardars, taking leave of His Majesty, marched towards the Country of Ruhelas³⁶ and Shuja, which was beyond the Ganges.

On 21st March Visa, Tuko and Najaf crossed the Ganges, raided Moradabad, Barily and other homes of the Afghans, and made for the Country of Shuja, when Shuja, informed of their roving, sent 5 English *paltans* and 10,000 troops to guard his own frontier³⁷. The Marathas, heavily loaded with the spoils of the Afghan homes, on hearing reports of the comming of the Wazir's army³⁸, crossed over to this side (of the Ganges³⁹) at Ghat Puth on 25th March. Then, to secure their booty, they decided to march to the Deccan⁴⁰. At Koil they presented Najaf with 50,000 rupees in cash, 20 trays of cloth, and 2 elephants and sent him back to the Emperor⁴¹ with a letter to the Emperor praising his loyalty and bravery.

145 On 20th May 1773, at 2 *gharis* of the day remaining, Najaf interviewed the Emperor, who embraced him.

146 On the same day Manzur Ali was appointed Nazir. Najaf advised the Emperor to remove Hisam from the Regency as unfit. The Emperor had long been dissatisfied with Hisam⁴² and preferred in his heart Majid; so he now appointed Majid, *naib wazir*⁴³, and Najaf as *Amir-ul-Umara*⁴⁴. Hisam fled in fear to Salimgarh with his family, and wrote to the Emperor begging pardon. On 26 May. Rajah Ramnath, by the Emperor's order, put Hisam under surveillance in Salimgarh. On 20 June, Najaf, in exchange of 6 lakhs of rupees took Hisam from the Emperor into his own custody and removed him from Salimgarh to his (Najaf's) own house⁴⁵.

147 Mahdi Quli Kashmiri (a former follower of Ghaziuddin, the traitor) trodden to death by an elephant. During Ghaziuddin's rule over Delhi, this wretch had fleeced and ruined many citizen on false charges or suspicion. Every one aggrieved by his oppression. He burnt many richly gilt copies of the Quran in the Emperor's palace and the mansions of the nobles, to get their gold. He had made Hisam his patron and through him interviewed the Emperor, who durst

³⁵ "Rs. 3,000 a day"—according to SPD, xxix, p. 348; Sarkar, iii, p. 77. Polier (p. 33) says that Najaf was received into Tukoji's Service "at first at 3,000 rupees and afterwards at 6,000 rupees a day."

³⁶ Maratha and Najaf Khan's expedition in Rohilkhand—see Macpherson, *Soldiering in India*, pp. 118-130; *Ibrat*, I, 223-228.

³⁷ CPC, iv, L. 225; PRMH, i, A33, (p. 64); Francklin, p. 49.

³⁸ CPC, iv, L. 225.

³⁹ Polier, p. 33; CPC, iv, L. 251.

⁴⁰ See CPC, iv, L. 225.

⁴¹ After leaving the Marathas, before going to the Emperor, Najaf visited General Barkar and Suja-ud-daula. CPC iv, L. 473 Polier, p. 34.

⁴² Polier, p. 34.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 35; *Ibrat*, I, 229.

⁴⁴ *Ibrat*, I, 228; CPC, iv, L. 473; Francklin, p. 51.

⁴⁵ Najaf was in confinement for about 2 years. Polier, p. 35. See also Francklin, p. 50; *Ibrat*, I, 229.

not punish him then. But now that Hisam was fallen, the Emperor on 14 June ordered Mahdi Quli to be imprisoned, daily water was to be poured on him and he was to be placed under (2) planks. Still he did not die. So on 12 July he was tied to the leg of an elephant and dragged through the city till he died.

Emperor sits on the throne on 24 July 1773, at the *beginning of the 15th year*.

2 September, Mir Buzurg Ali Khan appointed *faujdar* of Chalkia Sikandrabad and other crownlands; Talib Ali Khan Eunuch (that of) Buana *pargana*; Shuja Quli Khan (son of Muniruddaulah) as *darogha* of the Khawases.

150

151

War with Nawal Singh Jat.

Emperor ordered Najaf to crush him totally and recover Agra fort from him, on 24 September 1773, the *subahdari* of Agra was conferred on Najaf Khan. That very day at 7 *gharis* of the night Najaf marched out⁴⁶ and encamped at Barapula. With him were deputed Niyaz Beg Mughaia Sardar with 2,000 troops, Gangaram and Bhawani Singh Kumedaus with four English *paltans*, Ramru Kumedian of the Red *Paltan*, Raza Beg with 4 *paltans*, and other Mughlia sardars from the Court⁴⁷. When they arrived in batches to the camp of Najaf, he began his advance on 8 October. Nawal Singh who was then ruling the Agra district, on hearing of Najaf's march advanced and encamped in *pargana* Palwal and sent Dan Shah with a large army to confront the imperial force that had been sent to Sikandrabad. Najaf advanced to 7 *kos* from Nawal Singh's camp. Nawal fled away to Bharatpur abandoning there his large guns and heavy baggage which was seized by the imperialists. Dan Shah after fighting was defeated and put to flight⁴⁸.

152

Najaf laid seige to Agra⁴⁹. The Firingis with the Khan, on 8 February 1774 in one *pahar* fired 5,000 balls on the wall of Bangali-*burj* and breached it⁵⁰. On 13 February, Dan Shah's brother, crying quarter, came out of the fort and interviewed Najaf⁵¹; was promised safety⁵² and his own property and family; took 2 flags of Raza Beg's *paltan* to the fort and established the Emperor's *thana* there⁵³. Safety proclaimed to the inmates. In 5 days he vacated the fort. Najaf entered the fort on 18 February 1774.

Shuja defeats Hafiz and other Ruhelas⁵⁴; Emperor plays joyous music and fires a salute⁵⁵.

154

⁴⁶ *PRMH*, i, A39, p. 71.

⁴⁷ The imperial army under Najaf Khan was about 25,000 including 8 battalions, *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *PRMH*, i, p. 72; Franklin, p. 53; *CPC*; iv, L. 556; 638 *Ibrat*. I, 232.

⁴⁹ *Ibrat*. I, 246; *PRMH*, i, A49; *CPC*, iv, Ls. 904, 907.

⁵⁰ Cf. *PRMH*, i, A49 (p. 83).

⁵¹ *CPC*, iv, L. 904 Says—"Dan Shah then had an interview with him (Najaf) and promised to evacuate the fort."

⁵² *PRMH*, i, A49, p. 83. See also *Ibrat*. I, 248.

⁵³ Mir Faiz Ali Khan was appointed *quiladar* of Agra Fort. *PRMH*, i, A49, (p. 83).

⁵⁴ *CPC*, iv, Ls. 1008, 1026; *PRMH*, i, A51a (p. 85); Macpherson, p. 181; *Ibrat*. I, 252-259.

⁵⁵ "The King was much pleased at this news". *CPC*, iv, L. 1026.

155 At Shuja's request to send Najaf to him to remove certain misunderstandings (caused between the two by mischief-makers) so that they might serve the Emperor in concert, the Emperor ordered Najaf to go and meet Shuja⁵⁶.

Najaf from Agra met Shuja on 15 May 1774, and highly satisfied him⁵⁷.

Samru Firingi leaving Najaf's company⁵⁸, came and interviewed the Emperor⁵⁹, and received the *faujdari* of Panipat and other *mahals* of Crownland⁶⁰.

156 Najaf returned and waited on the Emperor on 12 June⁶¹ and took up his residence in the mansion of Ismail Khan⁶², the *chela* of Safdar Jang, which was close to.

On 29 June, Jairaj Purohit (or Akhiraj ?) and Munna Ram wakil of Raja Bijay Singh of Jodhpur were presented at Court by Majd⁶³.

That day, after rewarding these wakils, the Emperor visited Majd's house.

157 Munir-ud-daulah died—his son Shuja⁶⁴ Quli at Court.

11 November 1774, Basant Khan eunuch appointed *Karora* of Delhi.

158 16th year begins, 10 July 1774.

Najaf insulted by *darogha* of Red *Paltan* at fort gate—retires in a huff⁶⁵.

159 28 July, Abdul Mansur Khan, son of Shah Wali Khan, Ahmad Shah Durrani's Wazir, who had fled away from Qandahar, interviewed the Emperor. 23 July (or August ?), Emperor visited the Ex-Empress Sahiba Mahal (daughter of Safa Begam). Then he visited Najaf to soothe him.

160 Id, 5 December, 1774.

161 22 December by Emperor's order Prince Akbar Shah and Manzur Ali went and reconciled Najaf to Majd⁶⁶, and at last brought Najaf to Court.

⁵⁶ See CPC, iv, L. 1026 (3); Franklin, p. 56: *Ibrat*, I, 251)—“Abdul Ahad set the Emperor against the project (i.e., Ruhela war) and he delayed setting out till after the conquest of Rohil Khand had been achieved. So Najaf hastened alone (19th April 1774), to join Shuja so as to keep his own word.”

⁵⁷ Franklin, pp. 61-62; Najaf met the Wajir at Bismuli—*Ibrat*, I, 260.

⁵⁸ “Samru after deserting Nawal Sangh Jat, had come to Najaf Khan, who gave him Jajir and engaged him”. *Ibrat*, I, 263.

⁵⁹ PRMH, i, A51a, (p. 85).

⁶⁰ See CPC, iv, Ls. 1097, 1152, 1360; PRMH, I, A51b, (p. 87), Polier, p. 40.

⁶¹ PRMH, i, A51a, (p. 85).

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, A51b, (p. 87).

⁶⁴ On the death of Nawab Munir-ud-Daula I, the title of “Munir-ud-Daulah Bahadur Najir Jang” was given to his eldest son, Muhammad Shuja Khan. CPC, iv, Ls. 957, 1059.

⁶⁵ “When Najaf was entering the fort, the Telingas at the gate objected to his being accompanied by 100 or 200 soldiers. But Abdul Ahad entered with a vast retinue. So Najaf, feeling insulted, returned to his own house, and ascribing this incident to Abdul Ahad's instigation ceased to attend Court.” PRMH, i, A51a, (p. 86).

“Abdulaha Khan and him (Najaf) were reconciled at a fresh expence of oaths and protestations, made as solemn as possible” Polier, p. 39.

16 January 1775, Zabita Khan took congee from the Emperor for regulating the *Mahals* of Saharanpur, in his jagir.

30 January 1775, Emperor heard that Hafiz Rahmat's daughter had stabbed Shuja with a dagger, and that Shuja had died of the wound on 25 January⁶⁷.

30 January. Ghulam Qadir appointed *faujdar* of Mirat and other *mahals*, vice Bairam Khan.

Najaf Khan had been ill for some time⁶⁸, the Emperor visited him on 24 April. The Emperor had heard that the Rajputs in concert with the Jats had spread in the Agra district looting⁶⁹. The loyal Najaf, in that state of weakness, started on 26 April, reaching Barapula that day then gradually to Dig⁷⁰.

On 20 (18) May, battle with Ranjit Singh Jat in the plain outside Dig—defeated, fled to Dig, besieged there. Mulla Rahim Dad Khan, Ruhela at the head of 10,000 horse and foot, deserted from Najaf Khan to the Jats, planning to enter the fort by any means and seize it for himself. But the Jats did not trust him and so did not let him enter the fort, he remained outside. Ranjit, strengthened by the adhesion of Rahim Dad, came out of the fort of Dig at one pahar of day remaining, on 25th May, fought Najaf at sunset, was defeated and driven into Dig—Rahim's attempt to enter the fort during the heat of the battle was frustrated by Jat watchfulness⁷¹.

17th regnal year begins 30 June, 1775.

Nawal Singh Jat dies (probably 10 August) of illness⁷².

On 20th (*Shaban* = 16 October 1775).

Azamuddaulah Abdul Qasim Khan, brother of Majd, was sent to regulate the Khalsa and other Mahals. He was a clever and capable man, expert in administration, also brave. For sometime he had been lame of both legs through disease, used to come to *darbar* in *palki*. He long objected to going, at last he went, saying in open *darbar* "I am in a hard dilemma—the day of my death has come near.". This was soon verified.

27 October—Zabita Khan, at the prayer of Abdul Ahad Khan, took his congee for administering Mirat and other *mahals*, which had been entrusted to him from before, on promised condition.

On 28 February Latafat Ali Khan eunuch arrived with 5 paltans sent by Asafuddaulah⁷³.

Zabita Khan rebels again.

⁶⁷ For the various versions of Shuja's death, see Srivastava, *Shuja-ud-Daula*, ii, pp. 284-291. See also CPC, iv, Ls. 1572, 1575, 1615.

⁶⁸ "Najaf Khan fell sick in the term of a jaundice" Polier, p. 31. See also *Ibrat*, I, 266.

⁶⁹ Qanungo, *History of Jats*, p. 273.

⁷⁰ Francklin, p. 70; *Ibrat*, I, 266.

⁷¹ For "Seige of Dig", see *Ibrat*, I, 267-269; Francklin, pp. 70-73; PRMH, I, p. 89.

⁷² "11th August" — PRMH, i, A54b, (p. 89).

⁷³ Francklin, p. 71.

169 He appropriated all the collections of Mirat and other *mahals* leased to him on promised conditions. Emperor ordered Abul Qasim Khan to meet him and give him good advice, inducing him to pay the revenue of some years that he had swallowed⁷⁴. Zabita refused and openly went into hostilities⁷⁵. Azam-ud-daulah, who was suspicious of the Turani Mughlia who had a secret understanding with Zabita, hesitated and delayed in engaging in war, wishing to settle the matter peacefully if possible. He repeatedly informed Majd of the collusion of the Mughlia sardars with Zabita, pointing out that fighting was inexpedient, but Majid ordered him to deliver battle without delay⁷⁶. On 17th March 1776, Abdul Qasim encountered the enemy. Gangaran and Bhawani Singh Kumedans, forming his Van, fought well driving the enemy off, and recklessly pursued them. The traitorous Mughlia went off to one side during the fight and the paltans in their pursuit proceeded very far (from the centre). Abul Qasim remained firmly in the field with 50 or 60 horse and foot only. The enemy encircled his *palki*. It is said that the bearers offered to carry him away from the field if he bade them. But the Khan considered it cowardly and began to shoot arrows sitting in his *palki* !!! The enemy crowded and slew him⁷⁷.

The Emperor summoned Mirza Najaf⁷⁸ and others to punish Zabita Khan.

176. On 16th April Zabita Khan's son who was to court, fled away from Daishana *Bagh* (or Dasna ?).

172 A dispatch from Najaf Khan was submitted by his Wakil Maniram reporting that Dig fort had been vacated⁷⁹ in the night of 29th April its key presented.

12th May Rajah Shivnath appointed *faujdar* of Panipat and c. vice Taj Muhammad Khan (Baloch).

173 Emperor summoned the *subahdars* and *faujdars* of the Empire to join his stirrups, in his march to Saharanpur for touring and hunting.

Zabita on hearing of it sent a petition begging pardon through Latafat Ali (Itiqududdaulah) eunuch⁸⁰.

174 Emperor, for the sake of Latafat Ali, agreed to pardon him. On 6th June 1776, Zabita came to Court with wrists tied, through Latafat⁸¹.

18th year begins : 18th June 1776.

Public Court held on 1st July.

3rd July at the recommendation of Majd, Raja Sujit Rai was appointed *faujdar* of Khurja c. (Crownland *mahals*) vice Khuda Banda Khan, — who came to court on 8th August and was next day made over to Latafat for realising the revenue from him.

⁷⁴ PRMH, i, A54b (p. 89).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Francklin, p. 71.

⁷⁷ See CPC. v. Ls. 871, 280; Polier, pp. 43-44; *Ibrat*, I, 298.

⁷⁸ Francklin, p. 80.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72 *Ibrat*. I, 284-285.

⁸⁰ Polier, p. 44.

⁸¹ Mediation of Latafat : See Polier, pp. 44-45; See also Francklin, p. 81.

Waziran, a dancing girl married by Majd, died on 18th (Rajab-2 September). By order, Prince Heir went to condole with him.

It was reported to the Emperor that Najaf Khan had captured fort Mursan (c. 2nd January 1777). 176

The Emperor decided to punish Zabita Khan⁸², who had rebelled a third time⁸³. On 1st February 1777, he appointed Bairam Khan to govern Mirat and other *mahals* which were taken away from Zabita Khan. 177

3rd February 1777, Emperor with his army began to march and after marches entered his tents at village Khuraiji. Summoned Najaf and all other *Subahdars*. Najaf arrived on 12th February.⁸⁴ Najaf Quli Khah (from Hansi Hisar) arrived by forced marches on 29th March. 178

On 2nd April, march resumed from Khuraiji, with a countless army.

31st March, Najaf Khan got Hisam pardoned. 4th April Hisam interviewed Emperor through Najaf. 179

18th April, Zabita Khan comes to Emperor to make submission. Emperor ordered Majd and Najaf Khan to calculate and take from him the revenue of Mirat &c. due from him. The two sat with Zabita for nine days, discussing the accounts. But Zabita clung to his money, and would not pay. Emperor, in anger, sent him off from the Court to his own army, 27th April⁸⁵. That very day the imperial advance tents were sent ahead and the Emperor entered them on 30th April. He encamped at Mirpur on 3rd May. Thence the princes and ladies of the imperial harem were sent off to Delhi on 9th May (or 8th May?)—as the Emperor lightened (his camp) for war. 10th May, halted at Dahbandi (Dhakauli), on 11th went to the bank of the Kishni river near village Barnava, 13th, near village Doghat (3 days halt), 17th reached Samli; that day he made Najaf *Amir-ul-Umara*⁸⁶ vice Zabita, Najaf Quli Khan 3rd *Bakhshi*, the *naib daroghaship* of artillery was given to Qutbuddin Khan, call (?) son of Majd. 180

23rd May, reached Raipur, 2 *kos* from Ghausgarh on this side of the Ganzes. The whole plain was covered with the imperialists; Zabita Khan's spies reported that their number was beyond count. At this news, in despair, he wished to flee away. But his uncles Afzul and Saduddin Khan reassured him and undertook the task of fighting the imperial army. 181

19th regnal year begins, 7th June 1777. 182

8th June, Mirza Najaf, Amir-ul-Umara, with his divisions marshalled, went on to attack the enemy⁸⁷ :—

Right Wing—Latafat Ali Itiqaduddaulah.

⁸² Polier, p. 49.

⁸³ *Ibrat Nama* (I, 295), says that Majd-ul-daulah had summoned Zabita for opposing Najaf.

⁸⁴ *Ibrat*, I, 296.

⁸⁵ “Najaf Khan showed Zabita, the Emperor's order to arrest him and advised him to return at once in safety to his own dominions”. *Ibrat*, I, 297.

⁸⁶ “Shah Aulum..... publicly bestowed on Nujuff Khan the *Neabut* of the *vazarut*.” Francklin. p. 69.

⁸⁷ Ghausgarh Campaign—See *Ibrat* I, 300-312; Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, II, pp. 67-71; Sarkar, III, pp. 133-145.

Left Wing—Sharfuddaulah, Qasim Khan, Suharab Jang
 Sulaiman Beg Khan, Shamsher Jang.
 Adina Beg Khan, Saif Jang, Murad Beg Khan.

Wagha Rao Maratha, with 2,000 mounted spearmen, was appointed (*mingata*) vanguard against the Sikh camp.

184 Himmat Bahadur and Umrao Gir Gosain with 15,000 horse were appointed rearguard. Najaf with the *paltans* and the Emperor's horse before him, stood ready.

The Sikhs advanced to the encounter and were met by Wagha Rao, with tir and musket. The Sikh horse fled away; the imperialists drove them back by successive beating to the gardens of village Luhari. Near the garden, the Ruhelas, concealed in hillocks and pits, fired on the imperialists, who had been advancing without fear and suspicion of ambush, and lost over 200 men in killed and wounded. The horse of Wagha Rao's brother was shot down, Najaf gave his own horse to him and Rs. 5 to each wounded man. At sunset each party returned to its own camp.

On 9th June, there was only fighting (i.e. firing) from the trenches, neither side made an advance.

10th June, Coronation day, festivities.

186 11th June, Emperor ordered an attack. The enemy too drew up his ranks and the fight began assaulted the trenches of Itiquuddaulah (Latif Khan) His *Najib paltans* fought well and repulsed the enemy from their trenches, slaying many.

187 The Afghan and Mughlia troops also fought together well. Allah (sic) Yar Beg Khan and Mirza Beg Khan delivered charges; both sides made attacks well. For one *pahar* the slaughter raged. About a thousand of the enemy were slain. From one (sic) *pahar* of the day to sunset the fight went on.

188 13th June, the Emperor ordered another attack. About 200 of the imperialists slain. The Afghans fought well, but were finally defeated and driven back to their trenches in *Thanah* Bhim. The battle ceased at 4 *gharis* before evening. For 9 days after this, no enemy appeared in the field; the imperialists used to advance on horseback and fire their muskets on the Afghan trenches, but none of the enemy showed his face or sallied out of their trench. The rainy season set in, daily showers. The imperial soldiers suffered great distress from the incessant of the rain, as they were encamped on the edge of the stream Krishni.

One day in the midst of the rain, the Sikh troops having crossed the river Krishni arrived near the Emperor's tents. The Red Paltan engaged them, firing their artillery, and routing the enemy. Many of the Sikhs, sticking fast in the mud, were captured with their horses; many were drowned.

190 23rd June, both sides came out for battle. Enemy defeated, nearly 2,000 Ruhelas being slain. When 6 *gharis* of the night had passed, Najaf Khan returned to his tent with victory.

24th June, Sahib Singh Khanda, a Sikh Sardar, with 500 horses decided to come over to the Emperor Najaf introduced him. After 2 days in the imperial camp, he went back to Zabita⁸⁸.

2nd July, Emperor engaged in hunting. Mahar Gujar was appointed *faujdar* of Saharanpur *Mahals*. 4th July. Emperor occupied tents further in advance. 191

5th July, Enemy appeared in the fieldNajaf marshalled his troops.

Imperialists victorious, the enemy defeated, fled back to their trenches. Owing to ceaseless rain, the imperial camp suffered extreme hardship. 192

13th July, Emperor advanced, surveying the place with his own eyes. Just then the enemy appeared. Najaf Khan, who led the imperial van, engaged them, Enemy defeated and many slain. The victorious Emperor encamped 2 kos on this side of Jalalabad. The Afghans were defeated whenever they gave battle. 193

15th July, The Afghans again issued from their trenches. Najaf defeats them, they fled back to their trenches. Najaf returns to camp with victory 4 *gharlis* of the day still remaining. Many Afghans having been slain that day Zabita in despair, made a peace proposal through Latafat; but the Emperor could not trust him. 194

Majd inclined to peace. Sent two nobles to Zabita on 27th July⁸⁹. Zabita was inclined to submit, but Afzal and Sultan Khan dissuaded him. The envoys returned with failure. 195

News came that *banjaras* from the Deihi side when coming to the camp had been encircled by the Sikhs. Wagha Rao with his own contingent hastened and brought them away in safety. The Emperor told Najaf Quli Khan and Latafat that as the Sikhs had gone away to rob the *banjaras*, their camp was unguarded, and so they should raid the Sikh camp. Latafat did it in a twinkle. Wagha Rao on his side escorted the *banjaras* after slaying many Sikhs. 196

Zabita wrote to the Emperor to send Najaf Quli Khan to reassure him and take him to Court. 197

On 12th August Najaf Quli went to him. But Afzal and Sultan Khan prevented peace once more.

On 31st August, Afrasiyab Khan joined the imperial camp⁹⁰, and had his audience through Najaf on 4th September, when Daud Beg Khan Kurji also arrived from Agra. 198

On 14th September, The Emperor ordered an attack. Najaf sent the army on the battle — the infantry (*Paltans*?) being no less than 10,000. Nama Singh (Kayath) Right wing—under Najaf Quli.

Left Wing — under Daud Beg Khan and Murad Beg Khan.

Centre — under the Gosains and Wagha Rao &c.

Van — under Afrasiyab Khan.

⁸⁸ Hari Ram Gupta says that, "Sahib Singh played this trick only to find out the secrets of the imperial army", Gupta, ii, p. 69n.

⁸⁹ See *Ibrat*. I, 304.

⁹⁰ *Ibid* I, 309.

199 Latifat Ali, Badai Beg Khan, Niyaz Beg Khan, Raja Shivanath, Sayyid Muhammad Khan, Taj Muhammad Khan *Baluchis* and other generals, with Gangaram and Bawani Singh (with their *paijans*) forming a heavy force, were drawn up towards *Thanah* Bhim.

200 The Afghans fought stepping forward beyond their imagination. The imperialists fought well from two sides.

Afrasiyab charged, his horse was fell by a cannon-ball, but he at once jumped up, mounted his servant's horse and advanced. Rao Namat Singh of his force was slain by a shot.

201 The Afghans, unable to hold the *garh*, fled away. Zabita fled away with the Sikhs⁹¹, many of the enemy killed. Afzal and Sultan were besieged in Gausgarh. Imperial victory. The Emperor rode forward in a lofty elephant. Najaf Khan brought to him Ghulam Qadir and Sultan Khan's son with their wrists tied together⁹². The Emperor's army encamped below Jalalabad *thanah*.

18th September, Emperor advanced to 2 kos to this side of Gausgarh, and ordered the attachment of the property in Gausgarh. The many men who had fled to Gausgarh for safety were allowed to go way unmolested to their homes.

29th September :—10 elephants, 70 camels, 50 horses, 40 cart-loads of tents, copper pots, &c seized for the state, all else given to Najaf Khan⁹³.

202 Zabita's women were kept confined in Najaf's tents. Afzal the braggart had hid himself among the women in fear of death! The Mughlanis and Qalmaq women who had gone into the harem to search dragged him out to the public with shame.

From 15th September to 4 October the attachment of property in Gausgarh went on.

203 2nd October. The Emperor visited the mansions within the fort.

On 10th October, Emperor set out on return to Delhi; reached Shamli, 16th October. On 28th October Afrasiyab Khan was given leave to go to his charge⁹⁴.

204 Id, (1st Shawwal), 2 November, celebrations. 8th November, Daud Beg Khan ordered to convey Zabita's family to Agra *Subha*. 14th November Najaf Quli appointed *faujdar* of Saharanpur.

16th November, Emperor's camp reached village in *parganah* Baghpat, and on Thursday, (20th November), marching thence he crossed the river Hindan (?) and entered Delhi.

205 On 25th November 1777, the Emperor sent Najaf Khan *Amir-ul-Umara* to Agra district.

⁹¹ CPC, v. L. 708.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Polier (p. 51), says that "..... the plunder of Gossgarh of which the King ought to have had" the largest share, was all engrossed by Najaf Khan and his spacious Chiefs."

⁹⁴ "Afrasiyab Khan was given the Government of the Gausgarh District and left with full power to escheat property found there". *Ibrat*. I, 312.

On 28th November, Mirza Zainul Abidin Khan (Najaf's sister's son) was appointed 4th *Bakhshi*.

On 30th November, Emperor learnt that Saifuddin Muhammad Khan, *diwan-i-tan*, who had been long ill, had died, on 6th December, his capable son was given his post.

On 7th December, the *faujdari* of Panipat, Sonpat, etc., was given to Sayyid Ali Khan, the *khweshi* of Majd.

Timur Shah's envoy Abdul Jabbar Khan (?) reached Delhi on 12th March 1778, was presented on 26th March⁹⁵, delivering his master's letter.

The Emperor learnt that owing to the heedlessness of the Jaipur Rajah, the *roys* of that country were being kept day and night without sleep by wicked men and disturbers, and that the Rajah had not paid his tribute to the imperial government for some years past⁹⁶. He decided to march there. Entered his advanced tents at Talkatora on 24th May⁹⁷.

Here Daulat Ram (Hildia) the *munshi* of Sawai Partab Singh, the king of Jaipur, and the Wakil of Rao Pratap Singh, the Macheriwala, and Jivan Ram Sakhawat, waited on the Emperor with presents⁹⁸. The royal astrologers informed His Majesty that at the time when he had started the auspicious moment had expired one *ghari* before and therefore it was expedient that he should change the auspices by going to Delhi fort for 'two' (a few) days⁹⁹.

20th regnal year, begins 29th May¹⁰⁰, 1778.

The Emperor, after passing four months in the fort, on 21st October which was the auspicious day, (sent his) dagger, sword and belt by way of *pa har au* for the expedition to Jainagar, to the *madrasa* where Maulvai Fakruddin used to live who was among the famous ulama of India and possest perfection¹⁰¹.

On 17th November 1778, the imperial tents were set up in the grounds of Safdar Jang's tomb, here he arrived on 20th November (?) (*Delhi Chronicle* has 10th November, more correct).

Thence he marched to Sarai Suhail and next day to Sarai Alawardi.

On 21st November (or 22nd) the Emperor encamped near Pataudi. Here Mitrasen the Zamindar of Rewari, waited on him. Then by successive marches the army reached Aminpur, (Aminpur 6 m. N.W. of Ajabgraph—30—S.W.) pertaining to *pargana* Amirnaku (or *nagar*) near Jaipur. On 18th January 1779, at this

⁹⁵ "On 23rd February, Jabbar Khan, the *elchi* of Mirza Timur came to the Emperor with presents". *PRMH*, i, A56a, (p. 93).

⁹⁶ *PRMH*, i,A 55 b (p. 92).

⁹⁷ "27th May" — *Ibrat*. (I, 317).

⁹⁸ *Ibrat*. I, 316 ; Francklin, p. 88 ; Polier. p. 51.

⁹⁹ "After having remained encamped about a month, at a place two coss from the city, the King returned and the Vakils (of Macheri Raja) soon after went back to their master". Polier, p. 51.

¹⁰⁰ "27th May" — *Ibrat*, I/317.

¹⁰¹ "Immediately after the rains in 1778, the King again took the field. The pretence was to chastize some rebellious Zemindars and to visit the shrine of famous saint at Azmer". Polier, p. 52. .

halting place, Khushhali Ram Bohra, the *divan* and the premier, sent by Pratap Singh, waited on the Emperor¹⁰², and reported that his master had not come only because his audience had always taken place through the Amir-ul-Umara¹⁰³. So the Emperor at once ordered the Amir-ul-Umara to come. On 23rd January Amir-ul-Umara arrived from Agra and interviewed¹⁰⁴.

On 19th February the Amir-ul-Umara introduced Raja Pratap Singh to the Emperor; Favours. The Emperor newly gave him the *tika* for *raj*¹⁰⁵.

211 The Rajah presented jewels worth 40 lakhs as his peshkash, through the Amir-ul-Umara. The officers of the Amir-ul-Umara changed some pieces of jewellery which were very high-priced before presenting them to the Emperor¹⁰⁶. This grieved the Emperor, though he knowingly took no notice of it.

214 The Emperor returned to Delhi, starting on 26th February 1779. On 28th February, he halted at Kunwarpur (in *parganah* Manoharpur). On 2nd March the Emperor wearing a saffron-coloured robe, played Holi with syringes. Nine days were spent here in pleasure. 10th March, reached Bhabra (halted 10 days) deer hunting 20th March, reached (halt) Poota (in *parganah* Kot).

215 (? on 26th March) Najaf Khan went away with leave to Agra.

Emperor arrived at Delhi on 21st April¹⁰⁷. (text has 1 May wrong).

Then he decided to settle the Lahore Province and ordered his advance tents to be sent to Mahaldar Khan's garden.

21st regnal year begins, 17 May 1779.

216 On 17th June, Emperor ordered Prince Farkhunda Bakht Jahan Shah to set out on an expedition against the Sikhs, with Majd and vast force¹⁰⁸.

217 On 18th June, the Prince entered the tents¹⁰⁹ which had been set up for the Emperor thence marched to Ghat Barari¹¹⁰, and decided to march along the river, to avoid water scarcity of troops.

26th June at Bakhtawarpur (in *paragana* Haveli) thence in the plain of village Bararta in *paragana* Sonepat¹¹¹. Many fish caught. When he reached Karnal,

¹⁰² Polier, p. 53.

¹⁰³ "The Raja's envoys came (19th January 1779) but put off the question of tribute by tricks, waiting for the coming of Mirza Najaf". *Ibrat*. I, 356; Polier, p. 53-54.

¹⁰⁴ Polier, p. 53-54.

¹⁰⁵ Francklin, p. 88; Polier, pp. 53-54.

¹⁰⁶ The Raja was to pay 8 lack of rupees *Nazarana* and of these 8 lacs, two were afterwards deducted for damages done in the environs of the camp and during the marches of the army, and Najaf was to have two lacks for his share. King's share came to 4 lacks only. Of this, 2 lacks only were paid after many difficulties and numberless days, that is one lack in money, and one in various effects. Polier, p. 54.

¹⁰⁷ "The Emperor re-enters Delhi — 2nd April 1779" — *Ibrat*. I, 357; "About the middle of April" — Polier, pp. 55-56.

¹⁰⁸ The Prince and Majd set out on "3rd June 1779" — *Ibrat*. II, 3; See also *PRMH*, I, A58a (p. 99) Francklin, p. 89; Polier, p. 56.

¹⁰⁹ *PRMH*, I, A 58a (p. 99).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ "The army reached Sonepat on the 26th June", *Ibid.*

Sahib Singh Khanda, Diwan Singh, Bhagel Singh, Karan Singh Nudmah and other Sikh Sardars presented themselves.

218

The Prince marched on and encamped near Patiala, the Rajah of which instead of waiting on the Prince, strengthened Patiala and collected troops, entrenching round the city. He sent his Wakil Nanu Mal with deceptive letters. The Prince, who was very wise told Majd not to lose time as the object of the embassy was to gain time for raising more troops.

When the imperial army arrived near Patiala, the other Sikh Sardars deserted the Prince in collusion with Amar Singh. Before going away they wanted to plunder the imperial camp, but were prevented by the guards. The Prince wanted to deliver an assault on Patiala next morning, but Majd did not agree, and did not give order (consent) to the return of the army to Delhi, out of regard for the Prince's feelings.

219

On 19th October¹¹², early at dawn the drum beat with permission for retreat. When the Prince asked who had beaten it, Imam Bakhah Khan replied that it was the signal for the assault on Patiala, the Prince put his armour on and mounted his elephant, Majd occupying the back seat. The army set out for Delhi, the Sikhs with hostile intentions following it upto Panipat district, but could not advance (in fear) of the numerous troops and artillery. If Majd had not been a coward, with such materials the conquest of Patiala upto Sarhind would not have been difficult¹¹³.

220

Why the Emperor's mind turned against Majd — due to the misconduct of Qutubuddaulah, related to Majd as (adopted) son and whom he had left at Court (as his agent). Qutb was very young, did not attend Court, but lived in the company of some ruffians, who had gathered round him, and began to behave improperly¹¹⁴.

(1) he used to ride on horse back upto door of the jail.

221

(2) he did not stop playing (his *basa*) upto that place.

and other acts may be imagined. The Emperor disgusted, wrote to Najaf to come instantly¹¹⁵. He arrived before Majd's return to Delhi, and halted at Barapuia. On 5th November Prince and Majd visited the Emperor. The prince complained greatly.....against Majd for his mismanagement of the campaign. The Emperor decided to dismiss Majd, but kept the plan a secret from every one except the Prince¹¹⁶.

He ordered that on 14th November, which was an auspicious day, Prince Sulaiman Shukoh and Abdul Ahad should welcome Najaf by advancing and present him.

222

¹¹² "14th October" — Gupta, ii, p. 91.

¹¹³ For Abdul Ahad's Patiala campaign, See *Ibrat*. II, 5; Polier, pp. 56-58; Francklin, pp. 89-92; Gupta, ii, pp. 78-92;

¹¹⁴ Polier (p. 67) writes that "he (the King) has appeared displeased lately at some of the measures taken by the minister (Majd) and his son-in-law, Coutub Odin Khan who during his (Majd's) absence manages all the affairs at Court in his stead."

¹¹⁵ Polier, p. 67; *Ibrat*. II, 5.

¹¹⁶ "Prior to Majd's quitting the citadel, he received information of the intended combination against him. Francklin, p. 93.

223 Majd went there, leaving Outbuddaulah with 2 *paltans* to guard the gates of the fort, and prevent any soldier of Amir-ul-Umara from entering. The Prince and Majd had not gone upto Firuz Shah's *Kohila*, when *Afrasiyab* Khan advancing arrived with 2 *paltans* the *topkhana* of *jilau* and 500 troopers to take charge of the fort, and forcibly entered¹¹⁷, Qutb could do nothing.

Afrasiyab and Zabita turned out of the fort (by Emperor's order) every one of the followers of Abdul Ahad.

224 After the audience in the *Diwan-i-khas*, Najaf Khan took leave, came out, met Afrasiyab and Zabita at the *Chauki* (porter's lodge) of the *Diwan-i-khas* where they had been waiting for him, and they pressed him against his wishes to imprison Majd, but Amir-ul-Umara came away telling them that he left it to God to punish Majd¹¹⁸.

Baharam Quli Khan, a very wise and experienced man much advised Majd to make an alliance with Amir-ul-Umara, but Majd obstinately refused.

225 On 5th December Amir-ul-Umara sat down in Nawab Bahadur's *masjid*, in front of the *Delhi Darwaza* of the Fort. Majd, in fear of his life, took shelter in the *Diwan-i-khas* and begged the Emperor to save his honour. Emperor agreed; Afrasiyab (the medium of Amir-ul-Umara's discussion of this business) gave solemn assurances to preserve his honour and life, and with the Emperor's order carried Majd on his elephant to Amir-ul-Umara's place of alighting. Majd lodged in a big tent pitched for him attended by servants and *chobdars* according to regulations¹¹⁹.

226 6th December Amir-ul-Umara presents costly things to the Emperor, who appoints Mirza Akbar Shah Mir Atish, *Darogha* of *Ghusalkhanah* and *Naib-Wazir*, the Deputyship of all these three posts was conferred on Mirza Najaf, who was given Qammruddin Khan's mansion near the Ajmeri Gate¹²⁰.

227 *22nd regnal year begins, 5th May 1780.*

Emperor ordered Amir-ul-Umara to send a strong force against the Sikhs who were raiding the Doab¹²¹. Amir-ul-Umara sent Mirza Shafi Khan (brother's son) to Muhammad Quli Khan with 10,000 horse and some *paltans*¹²².

The Sikhs, who had spread from *pargana* (gap) to *Zilla Saharanpur*, on hearing of the Khan's coming assembled in fear in Saharanpur. The Khan fought them on 20th February 1781, Sahib Singh Khanda was slain, other chiefs also (hit or slain?)¹²³. The rest fled away for their homes, throwing themselves into the river at the *ghat* of Saharanpur. Many of them were drowned -- Shafi pursued them across the river¹²⁴.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 94. See also *Ibrat*, II, 8.

¹¹⁸ Najaf deemed it impracticable to arrest Majd in the Emperor's very presence. *Ibid.*, II, 9.

¹¹⁹ See *Ibrat*. II, 15.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 15.

¹²¹ Francklin, p. 95.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

23rd year (regnal) begins, 25th April 1781.

228

3rd May 1781. Prince Akbar Shah married¹²⁵ — in the (vacant) mansion of Majd, by Chief Qazi Inayetullah Khan and Mufti Badi-us-zaman.

229

Mirza Jahan Shah Farkhunda Bakht falls ill of fever and cold, dies on 6th May. Hakim-ul-mulk Ishaq Khan and Masih-ul-mulk Mir Aftab Khan and Hakim Muhammad Sharif Khan treated him in vain. Buried in Hamayun's tomb, close to his mother's tomb¹²⁶.

231

232

233

12th June, about 3 p.m. dust storm, darkness, darker than night.

This year earthquake severe. A stone fell from the sky near Jhajhar.

234

1st January 1782—Emperor went to see garden of the tomb of Safdar Jang: Najaf who had fever waited on him. But Emperor wanted to send him back from the way, graciously, but the loyal Khan remained with him for three days. But as his illness became severe, he took leave for his mansion. Emperor stayed there 8 days.

235

The fever did not leave Mirza Najaf and swelling began. Hakim-ul-mulk Zakullah Khan beyond cure, fever and *sil* (consumption).27th February 1782. Emperor visits him¹²⁷.

236

4th March. Najaf removed to Safdar Jang's mansion (where Latafat had been living) for change of Place.

237

5th April. Najaf petitioned the Emperor that he had wished to give up his life under the feet of the Emperor's elephant, but the wish was not fulfilled, he begged pardon for whatever offences he might have committed.

6th April. Najaf Khan died¹²⁸, at 2 *gharis* before dawn. Universal and deep grief in Delhi. Buried in Shah Mardan. All the people and troops — beyond count — followed the bier with bare heads, throwing dust on their heads, men and women young and old lamenting uncontrollably.

238

8th April 1782, the three days of mourning being over Afrasiyab and others came to Court with all the bewildered captains of Amir-ul-Umara's army. Emperor consoled them, and asked them to sit in the chapel of the fort place and suggest whom he should appoint Regent. They remained silent, when he went to the chapel.

239

5 pieces (*kashti*) of *doshala* presented to Najaf's sister, writing to her to select a Regent for him to give the investiture. The Begam selected Afrasiyab¹²⁹. Next day Afrasiyab came to Court, offered to pay 5 lakhs¹³⁰ of rupees as *peshkash* (for his post) and was invested, — the Emperor urging him to pay the money soon, as he meant to visit Agra soon for change of air.

239

On 11th April, Afrasiyab sent rupees 1,87,000 to the Emperor, accepted.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 98.¹²⁶ *Ibid*.¹²⁷ *Ibrat*, II, 25.¹²⁸ *Ibid*, II, 27, CPC. vi, L. 476.¹²⁹ *Ibid*, II, 31-33.¹³⁰ *Ibid*, II, 31-33.¹³⁰ "Afrasiyab promised eight lakhs as *Peshkash*". *Ibid*, II, 34.

240. The plan of the Emperor's visiting Agra was objected to by the Ministers on account of the hot weather¹⁸¹—Mirza Jawan Bakht should be sent instead (to chastise the rebels on the Agra side.)

24th Regnal year begins, 14th April 1782.

241. Mirza Shafi Khan appointed to chastise the Sikhs east of the Jamuna.

Mirza Jawan Bakht, after entering the tents near Barapala, sent orders to Afrasiyab, Latafat Ali, Mahdi Quli Khan and other high Umara to come and join him. Afrasiyab went to Najaf Khan's sister and reported the intended march to her : she sought the advice of Mirza Zainulabidin Khan and Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan and others of her "Sahibzadas". As these men were unwilling to trust Afrasiyab, they imprudently excited the Begam's suspicion against Afrasiyab and got the march postponed. Hence a quarrel broke out between them. When the Emperor learnt of this unfriendly feeling and nearly one month was thus lost, he recalled the Heir, who reached the Presence on 12th June.

243. Afrasiyab Khan wanted to settle the quarrel, but it daily increased. The Begam at the instigation of Zainulabidin Khan (the chief mischief-maker) recalled Mirza Shafi Khan¹⁸² from the Sikh expedition, and the Mirza by rapid marches arrived by way of Sonepat to Narela. When Afrasiyab learnt of his coming, he wrote informing the Emperor of the Begam having been so ill advised as to summon Mirza Shafi Khan ; he (Afrasiyab) wanted to leave the Begam's house and alight in Majd's mansion, and bring Majd there. The Emperor agreed. So, Majd and Afrasiyab, at 3 hours before evening on 3rd July 1782 (no, 16th June) entered the house of the former¹⁸³.

244. Mirza Shafi Khan (Nasiruddaulah) marched from Narela to Mahaldar Khan's garden¹⁸⁴ and wrote to the Emperor, to say that when he learnt of Begam's estrangement from Afrasiyab, he came to wait on His Majesty and begged his favours. Emperor, pleased with his campaign against the Sikhs, sent Kallu Khawas to his camp for asking about his health. Shafi, thus emboldened, marched to outside the gate of Hazrat Turkman Sahib. Then Shafi and Zain had audience of the Emperor¹⁸⁵. The Emperor wrote to Najaf Quli Khan to come to Court,—who arrived at Sarai Alawardi.

Afrasiyab, anticipating Shafi, hastened to welcome Najaf Quli, spent the night with him and next morning brought him with himself to Majd's house¹⁸⁶. 20th July Najaf Quli interviews Emperor.¹⁸⁷

23rd July, Afrasiyab informed the Emperor that the army of Muhammad Khan Hamdani Iftikhar-ud-daulah), at the instigation of Agha Shafi Khan, had crossed

¹⁸¹ "Afrasiyab said the Emperor's journey would be costly and so pressed the Emperor and took Prince Jawan Bakht with him," *Ibid*, II, 34-36.

¹⁸² Francklin, p. 104.

¹⁸³ *PRMH*, i, B2a (pp. 103-4); *Ibrat*. II, 36.

¹⁸⁴ On 10th July-Mahaldar Khan's garden, 3 Kos. from Delhi. *PRMH*, i, p. 104.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibrat*, II, 37. The Emperor, pleased with Shafi, gave him the title of "Nasir-ud-daula Mirza Mahommed Shafi Khan Bahadur Zulfqar Jang." *PRMH*, B2b (p. 104).

¹⁸⁶ *Ibrat*. II, 38; *PRMH*, i, B2b (p. 105).

¹⁸⁷ *Ibrat*. II, 38; *PRMH*, i, B2c (p. 105).

the Jamuna at Mathura *ghat*, and was plundering the *jagir* of Himmat Bahadur ; so he (Afrasiyab) begged permission to go for the defence of the adjacent *Jugirs* of himself and Crownlands. Afrasiyab, sitting in the Mahtab Bagh, settled the account of the Crownlands—his arrears were found to be two lakh rupees—out of which he paid 50 thousand down. Emperor ordered Itiqududdaulah to go to the Begam and Shafi and convey the order that they should leave the Crownlands east of the Jamuna and deliver Agra fort and all its artillery to the Emperor's agent. Shafi replied that this mission was due to the trick of Afrasiyab ; he would not obey Afrasiyab, but if the Emperor appointed any other Regent, he (Shafi) would loyally obey him.

Afrasiyab went to the Emperor and reported Shafi's repugnance to him¹³⁸ he did not covet the Regency ; for averting a war, let the Emperor appoint Jahandar Shah as Regent and take away the Crownlands in the Doab which had been assigned as *jaidad* for the Mughlia troops of Mirza Shafi. The Emperor agreed. Jahandar Shah was appointed *diwan* of Khalsa¹³⁹, and the Mahals were transferred.

The news of the transfer of the *mahals* perturbed Shafi ; he ascribed it to Afrasiyab's machination and wrote to the Emperor, "I am faultless". The Emperor convinced of Shafi's loyalty called Shafi to his presence. By Emperor's order, he settled the *peshkash* to the Emperor's content and was promised the *naib* Amir-ul-Umaraship on 1st *Ramzan*—10th August 1782.

Afrasiyab planned how to subvert this arrangement. His counsellors advised him to make Majd (loved by the Emperor) his partisan. So Afrasiyab, Najaf Quli and Latafat, in concert, begged the Emperor to pardon Majd and appoint him *Diwan* of Crownlands. Afrasiyab conveyed to Majd the news of the Emperor's agreement at his intercession. Expert Majd declined the post of Regent on account of age. Under much urging he agreed willy nilly, as he was helpless. 11th August Afrasiyab and Najaf Quli took Majd to court and the Emperor invested him as *diwan* of Khalsa¹⁴⁰.

Fight in Delhi between Mirza Shafi and Afrasiyab¹⁴¹. Shafi found that without fight Afrasiyab would not tread the right path, but out of respect for the Emperor he did not wish to engage in hostilities at Capital.

Jalal Khan Afghan, a follower of Najaf Quli had some differences with Pauli, the head of Samru's *paltan*, on 21st August there was an altercation between the two, and the two forces prepared for fighting ; they barricaded inside the city walls. Muhammad Shafi Khan sent other *paltans* and his own cavalry to reinforce the *paltan* of Samru, and all the troops of Afrasiyab, Najaf Quli Khan and Latafat came to the aid of Jalal Khan. From the Kashmiri Gate to the Juma Masjid the rival armies arrived for the conflict. A battle seemed imminent. The Emperor, greatly angry, told Bahadur Ali Khan to forbid all of them to fight in the street, but to go out to the river side if they persisted in fighting¹⁴². So, they went away.

¹³⁸ *PRMH*, i, B2c (p. 105).

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Parasnis, *Dilhi Yethul Marathyanchi Rajkarane*, i, L. 71 ; Francklin, p. 105 ; *PRMH*, pp. 101, 106, *Ibrat*, II, 38.

¹⁴¹ See *Ibrat*, II, 41-42 ; *PRMH*, i, B2d, (pp. 106-107).

¹⁴² Cf. *PRMH*, i, B2c, (p. 107).

On 24th August 1782. Jalal Khan again began disturbance, the rival troops were drawn up from the Kashmiri to the Ajmeri Gate, ready for battle. Great alarm in the city. The Emperor sent Ali eunuch to Shafi and Kallu Khawas to Afrasiyab, and at his order they went away from their *murchals*.

As Afrasiyab was distressed by the daily struggle, it was agreed that he would go to the *mahals* of his *talug*¹⁴³. Taking his congee from the Emperor, he crossed the Jamuna on 3rd December¹⁴⁴.

254. Najaf Quli struggled to ruin Shafi at Court. He came and occupied Safdar Jang's mansion which was close to the Fort, for the purpose of kindling the flames of war.

*Najaf Quli fights Shafi and is defeated and imprisoned*¹⁴⁵ :—

9th September Id-ul-fitr. Emperor entirely favours Majd and Najaf Quli. On seeing this, Shafi decided to crush Najaf Quli as the only means of raising himself.

255. On 10th September 1782, when one *pahar* of the night remained, he marched with his troops and artillery for arresting Najaf Quli, who was negligent and in fancied security about Shafi, drowned in wine and pleasure. When the enemy arrived close to his mansion, he woke from the sleep of negligence, rapidly fortified his mansion with his few men and 5 guns.

256. Jalal Khan, on hearing of it, arrived with his few men to the rescue of Najaf Quli and bravely opposed Samru's *paltan*. Galloping his horse he penetrated into the enemy's ranks, when he was shot dead. Sayyid Ali Khan Kumedian of Mirza Shafi's *paltan*, who had bravely advanced to the gate of Najaf Quli's mansion was slain. Najaf Quli for one day and night did nothing but drink wine and fight. After the fall of Jalal Khan, Mirza Shafi reached the foot of wall of Najaf Quli's mansion and sent a message to him to come out without fear. Najaf Quli, knowing his house incapable of further defence, went off in a *palki* to see Najaf's sister, and the trenches were withdrawn from the house. The Begam placed him under surveillance. In the meantime, Majd not considering it expedient to remain in that mansion, went to Mirza Shafi Khan, who sent him to Qamruddin's mansion again.

*Shafi flees from Delhi in consequence of the rising of Pauli and Latafat Ali*¹⁴⁶ :—

257. Shafi became Amir-ul-Umara¹⁴⁷. The fool Latafat deceived Shafi—who was clean-hearted in suspecting man—by offer of adhesion, then in concert with Pauli¹⁴⁸ who was a soldier and nothing else, corrupted Ashur Ali Khan, the Chief of Shafi's artillery, and plotted to go to the Presence, bring the Emperor to the Jami mosque, arrest Shafi, and seize the Regency.

¹⁴³ *MR*, i, L. 71.

¹⁴⁴ In despair Afrasiyab went (on 3rd September), with Latafat towards Aligarh. *Ibrat*. II, 43.

¹⁴⁵ See *Ibid*, II, 43-45; *MR*, i, L. 71; *PRMH*, i, pp. 107-8; Francklin, pp. 107-108.

¹⁴⁶ *PRMH*, i, B3d, (pp. 109-110); *Ibrat*. II, 47-48; Francklin, p. 109-110; *MR*, i, Ls. 74-75.

¹⁴⁷ *PRMH*, i, p. 108; Francklin, p. 108; *Ibrat*, II, 46; *CPC*, vi, L. 600.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibrat*, II, 48; *PRMH*. i, pp. 109-110.

Early at dawn, 16th October, all those Sardars reached the fort gate with their *paltans*. They sent the Emperor word complaining of Shafi. The Emperor had been displeased with Shafi for having imprisoned Najaf Quli against the Emperor's wishes. He agreed and went to the Jami Masjid (as requested by the three).

Shafi asked Ashur Ali (in Munna Lal's presence) who reported that his own troops were out of control as the Emperor had come to the Jami Masjid and there was a tumult of the imperial troops. Shafi, knowing it to be unsafe for him to stay in that Delhi mansion, at once marched away with 20,000 troops and Majd to Faridabad.

The Emperor in the Jami Masjid hearing of this retreat, ordered Najaf Quli to be brought to him. Latafat went to the Sister Begam's mansion, removed her alarm at the departure of Shafi, and brought—Najaf Quli to the Presence¹⁴⁹. The Emperor wanted to ride out in person and take possession of the artillery of Shafi. Ashur Ali sent word to assure him that they were loyal. Emperor knew that delay in taking them would only lead to his failure, but he had to yield to the persistence of the two fools Latafat and Pauli—result—ultimate ruin of Emperor's business.

Latafat kept Najaf Quli in his own house.

Shafi from Faridabad marched to the Dig¹⁵⁰ district and summoned Muhammad Beg Khan to his aid, appealing to the memory of Mirza Najaf. Muhammad Beg came by rapid marches and the two together went to Delhi, to punish against these two to Barapula¹⁵² on 12th November when he learnt that Muhammad Pauli and Litafat¹⁵¹. They forced the Emperor (helpless in their hands) to march Beg Khan and Shafi had reached Faridabad¹⁵³. At one *pahar* of the night Latafat went off and joined them.

On 14th November 1782, Mir Mansur brought to the Emperor Shafi's letter professing loyalty. Emperor sent Kallu Khawas back with Mansur to console them and offer his royal favours.

Shafi and Muhammad Beg held a secret consultation with Kallu saying that they could not attack Latafat and Pauli out of regard for the Emperor, and therefore ought to capture them by fraud. They requested Kallu to act as mediator, arrange terms between them and induce those two to visit Muhammad Beg—nothing but Kallu's mediation¹⁵⁴ could accomplish this object. Done.

Tents set up between the 2 armies, where the principals on the two sides were to come alone, settle the oaths and assurance and all come to the presence together. Emperor forbade Latafat and Pauli to go as inexpedient. They persisted and got his consent.

¹⁴⁹ *MR*, i, L. 74.

¹⁵⁰ Shargava, *Browne Correspondence*, L. 2.

¹⁵¹ *MR*, i, L. 77; *PRMH* i, p. 110.

¹⁵² *PRMH*, i, p. 110.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*; *MR*, i, L. 77.

¹⁵⁴ *PRMH*, i, B3b, (p. 111).

On 17th November the four generals arrived at the rendezvous¹⁵⁵.

Shafi and Muhammad Beg had kept their troops concealed in low hills (in ravines) since midnight.

265 Shafi and Muhammad Beg came with 10 or 12 elephants, placed their elephants along side that of Latafat. Muhammad Beg, extended his hand for shaking hands, strongly gripped the hand of Latafat and dragged him into his own elephant. The other Sardars encircled Pauli with their elephants and thus brought them to their own camp¹⁵⁶. The concealed troops issued from the mud hills and began to fire their artillery. The small escort of Latafat and Pauli flew away to the imperial army. Muhammad Beg Khan, without (against) the consent of Shafi, blinded Latafat and beheaded Pauli¹⁵⁷.

The *paltans* of Latafat and Pauli, were greatly excited by the news of the capture of their chiefs. The Emperor consoled them and made them stand to arms to defend the imperial camp against the enemy's approach¹⁵⁸. Muhammad Beg and Shafi wrote to Emperor, excusing their own conduct as forced by their rival's misdeeds.

266—269 19th November Emperor at midnight sent Prince Jahandar Shah to reassure Shafi and Muhammad Beg¹⁵⁹. These two, on sighting his elephant, dismounted, walked on foot round the elephant and tying their own wrists begged to be punished if they were guilty !!! Prince consoled them. Next morning (20th Nov.) they were presented to the Emperor. They carried the Emperor's throne (litter) on their own shoulders to the fort—(Shafi, Muhammad Beg, Najaf Quli and Zainulabidin). Emperor at Shafi's and Muhammad Beg's request sent Prince Sulaiman Shukoh (22nd December) to suppress the rebels in Agra province¹⁶⁰ (as Mahadji was proposing to cross the Chambal)¹⁶¹ with these two nobles. They marched speedily to Agra, Shafi acting as his factotum. The Prince's force reached the bank of the Chambal and he ordered a bridge to be thrown over it, as he wanted to go towards Kota and Gwalior. Mahadji, alarmed at this report, sent professions of loyalty through Amir-ul-Umara, begging for permission to wait on the Prince. He visited the *dera* (of Muhammad Shafi) on the plea of condolence for Mirza Najaf¹⁶², held consultation together, and took oaths of friendship and safe assurance, and exchanged turbans with him¹⁶³. That day (29th June)¹⁶⁴ he did not visit the Prince¹⁶⁵.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid* ; *Ibrat*. I, 52.

¹⁵⁶ *MR*. i, L. 77 ; *PRMH*. i, B3b, (p. 111).

¹⁵⁷ *Ibrat*. II, 59 ; *Browne*, L. 9.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibrat*. II, 58.

¹⁵⁹ *PRMH*, i, B3d, (pp. 111-112).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibrat*. (II, 57). says— “By the advice of Ahad. and Shafi the Emperor sent Prince Sulaiman Shukoh with Shafi against Muhammad Beg on 22nd December.”

¹⁶¹ Mahadji was called by the Emperor to settle the affairs of the Empire. See *Ibrat*, II, 63 ; *MR*. i, L. 79, (p. 80).

¹⁶² Cf. *Browne*, p. 70.

¹⁶³ For the detailed description of the meeting of Shafi and Mahadji, see *Browne*, L. 40 and its enclosure, pp. 69-71. See also Sardesai, *Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindhiā*, L. 207.

¹⁶⁴ According to *Browne* (L. 40)—Sindia visited Shafi on 28th June (1783) ; 27th —Sarkar, iii, p. 260.

¹⁶⁵ Sindia visited the Prince on 2nd July, *Browne*, p. 80.

25th Regnal year begins, 4 April, 1783.

Rich *peshkash* from all notables—Arcot, Hyderabad, Calcutta, Lucknow, Udaipur, Jaipur, Sindia.

Emperor learnt that while Shafi was constant in devotion to the Prince, Muhammad Beg Khan was trying secretly to do mischief and had joined Afrasiyab in secret against Amir-ul-Umara Shafi. Emperor, warned Amir-ul-Umara of this danger from these men's duplicity.

Mirza Muhammad Shafi, Amir-ul-Umara, after strengthening the basis of friendship with Mahadji Sindia, gave the letter his congee from the Prince¹⁶⁶, and it was decided to place the district under Mahadji's control.

When the Prince turned towards Agra, he sent letters to Muhammad Beg Khan asking him to present himself and to release the territory in excess of his *jaidad* that he had seized.

Muhammad Beg and Afrasiyab were determined not to obey Shafi, but to oust him from Prince's guardianship, they conspired to deceive Shafi¹⁶⁷ by concealing their hate for him, and (falsely) accusing each other in their letters to Shafi. The Prince hunting, reached the Dig district. Afrasiyab came from his *jagir*, met Amir-ul-Umara and strengthened their friendly relations with oaths.

Shafi was a frank unsuspecting man. He was completely deceived by Afrasiyab, who secured orders from the Prince for the coming of Muhammad Beg (although Shafi at first objected, knowing Muhammad Beg's bad temper *bad mizaji*).

Muhammad Beg informed by his accomplice Afrasiyab came by rapid marches from his *jagir* to the Prince and encamped 4 *kos* from the latter's camp, and wrote asking the Amir-ul-Umara to be sent to reassure him and take him to the audience, as he did not trust Afrasiyab ! ! !. The Prince at first objected, knowing the man's violence. Afrasiyab took oaths and proposed a meeting between the two armies for the conclusion of peace¹⁶⁸.

23rd September 1783. As Shafi took horse for the meeting, owing to the restiveness of his horse, his turban fell down from his head—bad omen. He obstinately refused to hear them. He changed from the horse to an elephant and set out. He had not gone two *kos* when spies reported that Muhammad Beg Khan was coming with all his troops¹⁶⁹ and artillery and that Afrasiyab had not ridden out—two signs of treachery. He went on to Muhammad Beg¹⁷⁰.

Muhammad Beg was surrounded by a ring of 5 or 6 elephants of his followers. They shook each other's hands, but Muhammad Beg gripped Shafi's hand violently. Shafi, who was delicate man could not free his hand. In this struggle Ismail Beg Khan, seizing the opportunity struck Amir-ul-Umara with his sword,

¹⁶⁶ On 30th June 1783—*Ibrat*, II, 64; *Browne*, p. 70.

¹⁶⁷ See *Ibrat*, II, 65.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, II, 65.

¹⁶⁹ Muhammad Beg arrived with all his force, *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁰ *CPC*, vi, L. 873.

separating his head from his body with one blow.¹⁷¹ Muhammad Amin Khan who was in the back seat of Shafi's elephant, struck Muhammad Beg with his sword, but the latter saved himself by jumping down under the elephant ; His troops flocked up and surrounded Muhammad Amin Khan¹⁷² who boldly jumped down from his elephant, but was slain. The escort of Amir-ul-Umara, small in number turned back. The Prince, on hearing of it, in violent anger, ordered all his troops to arm for battle. But Afrasiyab, appeared before him, and the Prince prudently (he had no trustworthy officer among Najaf's followers) gave up the intention of riding out, as he felt sure that Muhammad Beg Khan was not without accomplices.

277

26th Regnal year begins, 23rd March 1784.

Major Browne present as *wakil* of Mr. Hastings, Governor General of 278 Calcutta¹⁷³.

279 Zainulabidin, the elder brother of Shafi, had been sent by the Emperor to administer district Mirat.

280 The Emperor, displeased at the murder of Shafi, did not so long reply to Afrasiyab's letter asking to come to Court ; so Afrasiyab, moved the Prince to intercede for him, the Emperor agreed, as he had no help, "men are such". Afrasiyab came to Court with Prince Sulaiman Shukoh. Emperor pardoned him ; and on 5th April (wrong date) invested him as Amir-ul-Umara¹⁷⁴.

Emperor found himself helpless among these selfish wicked men. So at his hint Prince Jahandar Shah Jawan Bakht, escaped from the fort on 12th April 1784, at 9 p.m. to go to Lucknow and appeal to the Governor General to rescue the Emperor from these wretches¹⁷⁵.

Makramuddaulah Akbar Ali Khan, the Prince's maternal uncle, accompanied¹⁷⁶ him with ten horsemen¹⁷⁷, the party crossed the Jamuna at night on horseback, while the water was raging. Prince's horse rebelled and wished to return, refusing to go further ; the Prince got down and cut off two of his legs.

282

¹⁷¹ Ismail Beg plunged his dagger into Shafi's left side says *Ibrat*. II, 65. See also Franklin, p. 115 ; *MR*, I, L. 91 ; Browne, pp. 111-113 ; *CPC*, vi, I, 873 ; *HPMS*, L. 266, 270 ; Sarkar, iii, pp. 262-263 ; Parsnis, *Aitihaskik Sphuta Lekha*, ii, pp. 96-97.

¹⁷² Muhammad Amin Khan, a relative of Shafi, jumped down his elephant and came up to Ismail Beg, but was killed. *Ibrat*, II, 66.

¹⁷³ Major Browne was (in the first instance) presented to the Emperor on 5th February 1784, (Browne, L. 58). On 23rd March, the Emperor held the great Darbar of the beginning of the 26th year of his accession. Major Browne with Bakshi Brett and other companions was presented. *PRMH*, i, B17a (p. 146).

¹⁷⁴ Immediately after the murder of Shafi, Shahzada asked Afrasiyah "to act in the Duties of Amir-ul-Amra till His Majesty shall appoint him from the Presence, (Browne, L. 53). On 16th October 1783, while at Mathura Afrasiyab received *Khilat* from the Emperor appointing him in the Post of Amir-ul-Omrah, Meer Buckshey, Soobedar of the Province and Killadar of the fort of Agra". (*Ibid*, L. 54). See also *Ibrat*. II, 69.

¹⁷⁵ *PRMH*, i, B16, (p. 146) ; *CPC* vi, L. 1043 ; Browne, L. 74 ; Franklin, pp. 118-119.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Browne, L. 74.

¹⁷⁷ Prince fled away "with a hundred Gujar horsemen who had come from his jagir of pargana Pali and Pakal appertaining to Faridabad". *PRMH*, i, p. 146.

At 9 a.m. Afrasiyab and Majd heard of it five (sic) *pahar* after the flight.

When the Prince reached the further bank of the Ganges, the Rajah of Anupshahar presented himself with tribute; other Rajahs and Zamindars of that side also.

Then to the country of Faizullah Khan—presents received.

Halts 3 days. Then goes to Lucknow¹⁷⁸, accompanied by Faizullah upto Bareily. At Lucknow meets Governor General.

283

Warren Hastings settled 4 lakhs a year on the Prince for his expenses.

After two months Hastings begged leave to go to Calcutta; the Prince liked the climate of Benares “Ahmadabad”, and went there with the Governor General.

284

Afrasiyab and the Emperor wrote to the Prince to come back. He was preparing for his march when news came of the murder of Afrasiyab. So the Prince set himself to raising troops. Prince went to Lucknow, in a few days quarrelled with Asafuddaulah, as the Prince’s character inclined towards sneering (or derision). The *wazir* stopped paying the promised money for his expenses. So the Prince returned to Benares, the Governor General settled Rs. 30,000 for his monthly expenses.

285

The coronation celebration (began 23 March 1784) being over, Afrasiyab Khan urged the Emperor to march to Agra to punish Muhammad Beg Khan¹⁷⁹, who after murdering Shafi had been disturbing that district and seizing certain places. No material ready—everything (transport, porters, &c.) neglected since Shafi’s death; Afrasiyab took no step.

286

As the Emperor was forcibly delayed in marching, Afrasiyab ascribed the delay to Majd’s advice¹⁸⁰.

287

One day Majd was giving a dinner to Afrasiyab and Najaf Quli, in the midst of dance and song, they loudly spoke against him and left abruptly. Majd, Rajah Dayaram and Imam Bakhsh ran and persuaded them to return and eat.

Next day, Afrasiyab and Najaf Quli went on horseback to Likur Manal and thence sent two Mughlia horsemen to bring Abdul Ahad;

He was brought 4 *gharis* before sunset.¹⁸¹

26 June; Emperor reached Khizirabad. Thence he marched to Agra.

288

¹⁷⁸ The Prince reached Lucknow on 6th May 1784. *Ibrat.* II, 76.

¹⁷⁹ Francklin, pp. 119-120: *Ibrat.* II, 78.

¹⁸⁰ “Abdul Ahad, out of his alliance with the English, does not agree to march and privately dissuades the Emperor, he shows no sign of making preparations for the Emperor’s journey”, *PRMH*, i, p. 148. See also Francklin, p. 120; *Ibrat.* II, 78.

¹⁸¹ Majd was arrested on 30th May (1784). *PRMH*, i, p. 148; *Ibrat.* II, 79; Francklin, p. 120. See also *CPC*, vi, Ls. 1134, 1159 (Afrasiyab’s letters to G. G. Hastings, saying that “Abdul Ahad always reposed confidence in Sikhs and in collusion with them he drained off the imperial treasury and while adjusting the accounts he showed the sum under Emperor’s expenses. That is why he was put in confinement and his property was confiscated in accordance with the commands of the Emperor”).

12th August, made a pilgrimage to Shaikh Salim Chisti's tomb ; thence entered Agra fort on 18th August¹⁸², Afrasiyab stinted the Emperor for money, great hardship.

289 Afrasiyab planned to take away Muhammad Beg Khan's *Jaidsads* and expel him ; for this he sought Mahadji Sindia's help, offering some lakhs of Rs. Sindia was eager for a plea to come to the Presence, he now on receiving Afrasiyab's call gladly came to Court. When the Emperor heard that Madhav Rao had come to the Chambal, he sent Afrasiyab Amir-ul-Umara to go and welcome him¹⁸³. On 24th October 1784, Amir-ul-Umara, after confirming with promises and oaths their alliance¹⁸⁴, sent Mahadji to the Presence.

But when the Patil Baba arrived near Agra, Afrasiyab delayed presenting him and engaged in expelling Muhammad Beg.

Zainulabidin, to avenge the murder of his younger brother Shafi, wrote to Sindia through Mirza Ghiyasuddin Khan to say that he would take vengeance. Sindia forbade it.¹⁸⁵.

On 29th October¹⁸⁶, (No), Zainulabidin's follower slew Afrasiyab Khan¹⁸⁷ and the murderer also was cut down¹⁸⁸ Zain fled to Sindia's camp¹⁸⁹ ; Sindia having previously forbidden him to come (if he took vengeance), now imprisoned him,¹⁹⁰ and in a few days sent him to Gwalior Fort¹⁹¹. Emperor very angry.

291 Narayandas Kashmiri, the factotum of Afrasiyab and Khadija Begam, told the Emperor that if he gave 12 lakhs for distribution among the troops of Najaf Khan, all of them with his artillery and *jagirs* would become the Emperor's. The Emperor did not believe in him.

On 3rd November 1784, Majd hearing of Afrasiyab's murder, won over the Telingas and came to Agra to wait on the Emperor ; but Shujeet Khan the father-in-law of Afrasiyab, disregarding the Emperor, confined him in Agra Fort¹⁹². Emperor felt sorely insulted aggrieved at this.

292 In anger he came out of the fort and pitched his tent outside. Ambaji as envoy of Patil came to the Presence and impressed him with the Patil's loyalty and devotion.

¹⁸² *Ibrat.* II, 83.

¹⁸³ Afrasiyab interviewed Sindia on 23rd October 1784 — *Ibrat.* II, 87 ; Anderson, p. 39 ; Sarkar, iii, p. 277. 21st October — according to *PRMH*, i, p. 151 ; and 22nd October — according to Browne, L. 106.

¹⁸⁴ On 23rd October Afrasiyab with Himmat Bahadur and his Sardars went to Sindia's tent and held a conference for expelling Muhammad Beg and regulating the realm. *PRMH*, i, B22a, (p. 153). See also *Ibrat.* II, 87.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibrat.* II, 87.

¹⁸⁶ 1st November — *PRMH*, i, B22b, (p. 151) ; *Ibrat.* II, 77. 2nd November — Anderson, p. 40 ; Browne, L. 109.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibrat.* II, 88 ; *PRMH*, i, p. 151 ; Browne, Ls. 109-110 ; Francklin, p. 133 ; *HPMS*, L. 600 ; *CPC*, Ls. 1472, 1484 ; *MR*, ii, L. 18 ; Anderson, p. 49 ; Forrest, *Selections from the Foreign Department*, iii, p. 1129.

¹⁸⁸ *PRMH*, i, p. 151 ; *Ibrat.* II, 86.

¹⁸⁹ *CPC*, vi, L. 1494 ; *MR*, ii, L. 18 ; *HPMS*, L. 606.

¹⁹⁰ *HPMS*, L. 606 ; Forrest (FD), iii, p. 1129.

¹⁹¹ *CPC*, vi, L. 1550 ; Anderson, p. 48.

¹⁹² *PRMH*, i, p. 149 ; *CPC*, vi, L. 1550 ; *Ibrat.* II, 90.

17th November¹⁹³ 1784, Sindia is received in audience, through Prince Sulaiman Shukoh (correct Akbar Shah).¹⁹⁴

1st December the Emperor began march towards Daosa (in Jaipur).

On 4th December Sindia was appointed *Wakil-i-mutlaq*¹⁹⁵ and *Amir-ul-Umara*. Emperor ordered all the officers of Afrasiyab to go and put themselves under Sindia's order. Narayandas did so. All the troops and artillery (of Afrasiyab) came over to Sindia (gradually)—during which interval he greatly honoured and cherished Narayandas and after they had all come fully under his control in a few months, he confined Narayandas in Dig fort¹⁹⁶.

293

11th December Emperor went towards Manikpur, to hunt. There (on 12th December ?) he at Sindia's request appointed Rana Khan Bhai as *Mukhtiar* of the property of Najaf Khan and Narayandas as *Diwan*¹⁹⁷ of Crownlands. Thence the Emperor marched to Bharatpur district.

On (10th January 1785 ?) he gave the robe *Khanisaman*, vice Maulvi Ataullah Khan at Sindia's request, to Khande Rao.

294

19th January Ambaji appointed *faujdar* of Sonepat &c., and *Karori* and mint-master of Delhi;¹⁹⁸ all the expenses of the Emperor's household was provided by Sindia, one lakh and 30,000 rupees monthly¹⁹⁹. Emperor greatly pleased with Sindia.

25th January Zabita Khan poisoned by his wife.²⁰⁰

27th Regnal year began, 12 March, 1785.

Celebration on 15th March. Sindia *Amir-ul-Umara* honoured with 7-piece *khilat* &c.

295

After the festivity, the Emperor went hunting near Mathura²⁰¹—which tract he found very pleasant, then turned his reins back towards Delhi.

296

Sindia did not desire his return to Delhi, as he planned to increase his own power by the prestige of the Emperor's presence with his army; so he suggested that if the Emperor encamped in Jaipur territory for a year or two, its Rajah who used every year to default in paying tribute and had usurped some crown-lands,—would be forced to pay money and restore the lands.

297

¹⁹³ 14th November—*Browne*, L. 116.

¹⁹⁴ *Browne*, L. 116; *MR*, i, L. 120; *HPMS*, L. 606; *PRMH*, i. p. 150; *CPC*, vi. L. 1550; *Ibrat*, II, 92.

¹⁹⁵ The title of "Wakil-i-Mutlaq" was bestowed on the Peshwa, along with the *Mahi Maratib* etc., and the deputyship on Sindia. See *HPMS*, L. 342-44; *MR*, i, Ls. 106, 132-133; *CPC*, vi, L. 1541; *Browne*, Ls. 117-18; *Ibrat*, II, 95; *Anderson*, p. 44; *Francklin*, pp. 136-127; *Poona Residency Correspondence*, i, L. 9.

¹⁹⁶ See *Ibrat*. II, 97; *Franklin*, p. 40.

¹⁹⁷ *Franklin*, p. 138.

¹⁹⁸ Ahbaji Ingle was appointed in charge of Delhi and Sikh affairs. *MR*, i, L. 127.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. *HPMS*, L. 411; *MR*, i, L. 217. "Twelve lacks of rupees were allotted for the support of the king's household"—*Francklin*, p. 142.

²⁰⁰ On 21st January—according to *PRC*, i, L. 10. "Zabita was succeeded by his son Qwalam Qadir." *Francklin*, p. 143.

²⁰¹ On 11th April (1785)—*Ibrat*. II, 105.

The Emperor disagreed and returned to Delhi.²⁰²

(26th July—2nd August 1785).

298 Patii Baba seeing that the nobles had set the Emperor's heart against his advice, yielded without a protest and begged Rai Dharam Narayan the *peshkar* of Crownlands to be ordered to accompany Mahadji Sindia for some time. Rajah Dayaram and other courtiers fearing that if Rai Dharam Narayan remained there the work of the *Khalsa* department would go on well under Ramchand Bhau, advised the Emperor against it, but Emperor refused to accept their advice and ordered Rai Dharam Narayan to go with Mahadji Sindia. Mahadji sent Anand Rao Narsi and Rajah Deshmukh Bahadur²⁰³ with the Emperor, to stay at Court²⁰⁴ with Shah Nizamuddin²⁰⁵ and manage all affairs with the Emperor's consent.

Emperor entered Delhi via Bahadur Ali Khan's garden on 15th July 1785.

Id on 7th August.

299 News of the death of Nawab Bairam Khan, long ill. After the 40th day he gave Bairam's son the same title.

28th Regnal year begins, 2 March 1786.

300 *Jashan* on 15th March, sits on the gold throne.

Anand Narsi presented *nazar* on behalf of Amir-ul-Umara.

301 The Emperor heard that Mahadji had left his *chhaoni* at Mathura and Marched towards Jaipur. (left Shergarh—3rd January 1787, left Dig—16th February).

Mahadji sent 8 lakhs of rupees²⁰⁶ with Shah Nizamuddin for the marriage of the Emperor's son and daughter, Amir-ul-Umara marched towards Jaipur.²⁰⁷ He wished to marry his younger daughter to the Jaipur Rajah and sent a proposal to that effect. But the Rajah of Jaipur declined as they were (*gair muggaffa*) unequal (in caste). So Amir-ul-Umara in anger decided on war, hoping to frighten him into marriage.

29th Regnal year begins 19 February 1787.

302 After the coronation celebration the Emperor learnt that Amir-ul-Umara, in spite of the submission²⁰⁸ of the Jaipur Rajah, had marched to Jhilwa, and the former had prepared for war; 20,000 troops from the Jodhpur Rajah had arrived to his aid. The Emperor wrote to Amir-ul-Umara to give up this war²⁰⁹, promising to go there himself soon and do as Mahadji desired²¹⁰. But Amir-ul-Umara

²⁰² *HPMS*, L. 411.

²⁰³ Ladoji Shitole Deshmukh, son-in-law of Sindia. *HPMS*, L. 411; *PRC*, i, L. 12.

²⁰⁴ Ladoji Shitole, Murar Rao Daulat, Anand Rao Narsi, Kesopant and Nathamal Munshi were appointed as *Karbharis* of Delhi. *MR*, i, L. 138; *HPMS*, L. 411.

²⁰⁵ "Shah-Nizam-Al-Deen, a confidential servant of the minister (Sindia), was appointed to the Superintendence of the royal household, to which his majority added the Government of the fort and city of Delhi". Franklin, p. 143. See also *MR*, i, L. 204.

²⁰⁶ Mahadji sent presents, etc. to the Emperor. *MR*, i, L. 203.

²⁰⁷ *MR*, i, L. 202.

²⁰⁸ Cf. *MR*, i, L. 221-223; *Ibrat*, III, 7.

²⁰⁹ *MR*, i, L. 220; *PRMH*, i, D2a (p. 155).

²¹⁰ *MR*, i, L. 229.

refused to listen²¹¹ and on 19th May 1787 marched out and encamped on the Banas, and thence by successive marches reached Lalsont. The author was present with Rai Dharam Narayan (who loved him most) and saw the events of the battle²¹² with his own eyes.

When Amir-ul-Umara reached the Lalsont district, Badal Beg Khan joined him with the force present with him (*Maujudi*). Appa Khande Rao from Bundel Khand with 10,000 sepoys²¹³ and 20,000 Marathas joined him. From all sides and the *purgarahs* of *jagir*, troops began to come in crowds. Nearly 70,000 troops and 20 battalions were assembled there. The Jaipur Rajah, hearing reports of Amir-ul-Umara's coming, marched out of Jaipur and encamped on Moti Dongri, three *kos* from his city towards this side. Amir-ul-Umara marching out of Lalsont encamped below the hill²¹⁴ of Jaipur. Three *kos* from the hill leaving (his camp) there, he himself with his fighting forces and battalions encamped (or advanced?)

On the 6th (*Shawwal* ?—22nd July), the troops of both sides appeared for fighting, some skirmishes took place. Rana Khan Bhai advanced from the Maharajah's side; Amir-ul-Umara had prepared a loftly platform; seated on it he looked at the fighting from a distance.

In three years Amir-ul-Umara had quelled the disturbances of the realm, and daily increased the peace and happiness of the people.

But such contrary results happened that I consider it best to pass over them in silence. When Amir-ul-Umara marching from Lalsont encamped on the further side of the hill of Jainagar—which was 6 *kos* distance from Moti Dongri, Rayji Patil from Ajmer joined him. Muhammad Beg Hamadani, who was coming from Jaidad, forgot his duty of loyalty, went over to Jaipur Rajah's army from the way.²¹⁵ Raja Pratap Singh, hearing of Amir-ul-Umara's arrival in the Lalsont district, with 20,000 Rathor troops, who had arrived from Jodhpur to his aid, and the same number of Kachhwahs was, leaving Moti Dongri in his rear, encamped with the design of fighting. Four *kos* intervened between the two armies and skirmishes began. Amir-ul-Umara made Rana Khan his commander-in-chief, and himself used to sit on the platform and gaze at the fight.

On 25th July, the two armies appeared for battle: In the scene of the battle was *garhi* (*Bidarkha*), where the Rajputs had an outpost. Rana Khan tried to seize the *thana*, the Rajputs pushed up reinforcements; the battle raged for 2 *pahars* as it ought. At last Rana Khan defeated the enemy and seized the *garhi*.

On 27th July (Saturday) at one *pahar* from the morning, the Bakshi (*Bhimraj*) of Rajah Bijay Singh and the Kachhwah Sardars came out for fighting.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² For other descriptive accounts of the "Lalson Battle" see *Ibrat*, II, 20-34; *HPMS*, Ls. 500, 503; *PRMH*, i, pp. 156-58; *CPC*, vii, Ls. 1544, 1549, 1551-53, 1572; *PRC*, Ls. 135-137; *Bharat Warsha*, II, pp. 549-51; *IHRC*, vol. xvi, pp. 143-145; *MR*, i, Ls. 224, 226; *Francklin*, pp. 147-149; *Parasnisi*, *Maheshwar Darbarchi Batamipatren*, ii, L. 147. The day to day report of this campaign is given in *PRMH*, ii, pp. 1-15.

²¹³ Appa Khande Rao brought with him altogether between 4 and 5 thousand men. *PRC*, i, L. 124. *MR*, i, L. 202—10,000 sepoys. *Ibrat Nama* III, 19—only 7,000 men. See also *PRMH*, ii, p. viii.

²¹⁴ *PRMH*, ii, p. 6.

²¹⁵ *MR*, I, L. 221; *PRMH*, ii, p. 59.

Muhammad Beg Khan Hamadani rode out for battle ; stood under a tree, advancing on his elephant one *kos* on this side before the army. The Jaipur Rajah also rode out. Rana Khan advanced to oppose them. Brisk exchange of artillery fire. Two thousand Rajput horsemen, determined to break the enemy's ranks, arranged with Muhammad Beg Khan that when they would mingle with the enemy, he with the troops present under him should advance to support them from behind and thus they would in a twinkle scatter the enemy. The Rajput horsemen, with a pipe in one hand and a sword in another, doubling their intoxication of valour with that of opium, galloped and mingled with the enemy.

308 On the right hand of (Sindia's) army Apa Khando was posted ; unable to withstand the force of their swords, he gave up the fight, and the troops of Ambaji also retired to a corner. Ghazi Khan Afghan (Barech), on seeing that Apa and Ambaji had been repulsed, with his own brother and nephews, alighted from their horses, and blocked the path of the Rathors. A stiff sword fight took place, many being slain or wounded. At last Ghazi Khan was slain ; cannon balls were showered on the Rajputs giving them no respite. They disregarding the cannon-balls as the showerings of flowers advanced. Just then a cannon ball, falling on the ground four yards from the elephant of Muhammad Beg Khan, leaped up and killed the Khan²¹⁶. About sunset the Rajput returned to their own camp.

On the Maratha side 5-6 thousand men were slain and wounded, and out of the 2,000 Rajput horsemen nearly 500 carried their lives back to safety.

310 No power of fight was left in either army. Malik Muhammad Khan from before an ally of the Jainagar Rajah arrived next day at night before the commandants of the *paltans* of Amir-ul-Umara, promised them their pay, as soon as they would desert this army and join the Jaipur forces²¹⁷.

29th July 1787—When 4 *gharis* of the day remained, the battalions successively marched away from (Sindia's) army and joined the Jaipur camp²¹⁸. At the desertion of these men—on whom depended “fighting with fire arms” some despair fell on Sindia's army, and he and his advisers decided to give up fighting and retreat²¹⁹. Instantly he ordered the baggage to march to their place of halting and himself remained all night on the alert with 50,000 troopers.

311 Four *gharis* of night remained when Sindia urged his baggage to march towards Dig. During the journey (or starting ?) a powder chest took fire and exploded with a deafening noise, which made the soldiers imagine a Rajput attack and they began to flee away, abandoning lakhs of rupees worth of property. Amir-ul-Umara remained confronting the enemy till noon. But none of the enemy rode out to attack, and by that time the baggage had marched 7 or 8 *kos*. Then Mahadji marched away from the field of battle, and reaching his halting place set fire to his tents, gave up his remaining property to plunder (by his men) and reached the place where the baggage was standing²²⁰. That day a march of 12 *kos* was made.

²¹⁶ *MR*, i, L. 224.

²¹⁷ *PRMH*, i, p. 158.

²¹⁸ *MDB*, ii, 1, 147, 510.

²¹⁹ *Ibrat*, II, 25 ; *PRMH*, ii, p. 15.

²²⁰ *MR*, i, L. 226.

He reached Dig, not one Rajput making pursuit. They all went back to their homes. Amir-ul-Umara wrote to the Emperor proposing to go to the presence. The Emperor led by foolish advisers, declined permission²²¹. So, Mahadji, after a stay of some days at Dig, went to Alwar²²² and stayed 2 months there, and then moved to Rewari²²³ for going to the Court. He sent Ambaji to Delhi²²⁴ — refused audience by the favourites²²⁵. Ghulam Qadir watching the scene from his tents across the Jamuna, Ram Ratan Modi and Sitaldas (*diwan* of the *nazir*) went to see Rai (Ambaji) and told him that Ghulam Qadir deserved the Amirul-umaraship by 3 generations of hereditary right, while if Patil attains to this desire, there would be bloodshed between them. They advised him not to go to Court, but *salam* the Emperor from below the Octagonal Tower and take his leave. He did so²²⁶, and went back. Ghulam Qadir at once crossed the Jamuna²²⁷, saw the Emperor and received a *khas khilat*²²⁸. Ambaji reported everything to Mahadji, who seeing the hostility of the nobles of the Court deemed it inexpedient for himself to remain—in the Hundustan districts, and from Rewari marched²²⁹ without a halt to beyond the Chambal, where he stayed for some months²³⁰.

312

313

Ismail Beg Khan brother (sic) of Muhammad Beg Khan Hamadani, who had been posted in Shakhawati by Amir-ul-Umara now on hearing of the latter's crossing the Chambal, turned traitor and wrote to the Jaipur Rajah that if he sent 10,000 Rajput horse to aid, he would quickly conquer Sindia's dominions²³¹.

314

The Khan got 10,000 troops from Jaipur²³², pursued Sindia and crossed the Chambal wishing to fight him. None advanced from the front to fight him, but the Deccanis from four sides stopped his provision supply, he returned to Agra through scarcity in his camp; arriving in a twinkle he laid siege to the fort²³³.

315

When Sindia left Rewari to go and cross the Chambal, the Emperor wrote calling Begam Samru²³⁴. She came²³⁵ by forced marches from her *Jagir*. Himmat

²²¹ *PRMH*, i, p. 176.

²²² *PRC*, i, L. 162. Rao Pratap Singh of Macheri invited Sindia to Alwar fort where he made plenty of provisions and fodder for him. *PRMH*, i, D4d, (p. 164); *MR* i, L. 227; *HPMS*, L. 502; *Fransklin*, p. 148.

²²³ *MR*, i, L. 291; *PRMH*, i, p. 176.

²²⁴ From the Rewari District Mahadji made a vain attempt to bring the Emperor over to his own side by sending Ambaji Ingle on an embassy to Delhi, on 14th November 1787. See *PRMH*, i, D5b, (p. 168), D8a, (p. 176); *PRC*, i, p. 268; *Ibrat*. III, 87.

²²⁵ See *PRMH*, i, p. 176.

²²⁶ On 15th November, Ambaji with 200 men, was received in audience by the Emperor. *PRMH*, i, p. 171.

²²⁷ Ghulam Qadir crossed the Jamuna on the 27th August. *PRC*, i, L. 166.

²²⁸ *MR*, i, Ls. 227, 228; *Fransklin*, p. 153.

²²⁹ See *PRMH*, i, p. 176.

²³⁰ *HPCS*, L. 514.

²³¹ *PRMH*, i, D4c, (p. 165)

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ *Ibid.*; *MDB*, ii, L. 156; *HPMS*, Ls. 504, 509, 518; *Fransklin*, p. 150.

²³⁴ Begam Samru, the wife of late Samru, married in 1778 was the daughter of a Mogal nobleman. After marriage she embraced the Christianity. She received from the Emperor, the title Zebunnissa, and on her husband's demise, was continued in command over the troops, and confirmed by Najaf Khan in the management of her *jagir* of Sardhana, in the province Saharanpur. *Fransklin*, pp. 153-56.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-57.

316 Bahadur, who had parted from Sindia at Dig when the latter was going to Alwar, and had given up his side, came to the Emperor. Ghulam Qadir pitched his tent in the plain of the old Fort, and used to go to the Presence daily. Nazir²³⁶ and Ram Ratan Modi his partisans. He wished to establish his control over the City and the Fort, but owing to the Begam's *paltans* being present he could not do so. He cunningly told the Emperor that he was going to the Doab to regulate it, and if the Emperor sent the Begam with him he would be able to get possession of that country easily and would then go to Agra. The Courtiers backed this proposal. The Emperor consented in order to "agree with the times".

Begam Samru, by order, marched from the Qudsia Bagh and encamped in the garden of Shah Nizammuddin and sent a message to Ghulam Qadir to say that she was ready to go and aid him. Ghulam Qadir took his congee, returned to his camp and asked the Begam to cross the Jamuna first. Wise women urged him to cross over first. Ghulam Qadir did so; then the clever Begam entrenched on the bank of the river, being ready for fighting.

317 22nd October 1787, heavy artillery firing began²³⁷ (10 Muharram, *tazias* thrown into the river, instead of being conveyed to Shah Mardan).

Ghulam Qadir in fear left²³⁸, and in a few days got possession of Aligarh²³⁹, and established his out-post in the *mahals* round it. He wrote to Ismail Khan proposing to join him. The latter grasped at the offer²⁴⁰, as reports of the coming of the Marathas had risen²⁴¹.

318 *30th Regnul year begins (8 Feb. 1788).*

Enthronement on 11th February. Then he decided to encamp in the Rewari Zila for some time. His troops under Badal Beg Khan, Shah Mir Khan, Mirza Ghiyas-uddin Khan and Raja Himmat Bahadur.

28th February. March to Talkatora,²⁴² thence to Pataudi.

319 Najaf Quli held *parganahs* Narnol &c. and Kanund as his *jaidad* from the Emperor. On the departure of Mahadji he had seized Rewari district and was living to Gokulgarh²⁴³. He refused to come to visit the Emperor²⁴⁴.

When the Emperor arrived near Rewari²⁴⁵, he heard that the Jaipur Rajah had arrived 4 kos. beyond Gokul (garh) for interviewing him and that Najaf Quli had visited and made friends with him. The Emperor then marched and encamped beyond Rewari in the plain of village Bharawas.

²³⁶ "The treacherous Nazir (Mansoor Ali Khan), joined in the intrigues of the rebel (Ghulam Qadir)". Francklin, p. 151.

²³⁷ Francklin, p. 159.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

²³⁹ See *PRMH*, pp. 169, 183; *CPC*, viii, L. 233.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 175.

²⁴¹ Francklin, p. 168; *PRMH*, i. pp. 168, 172; *CPC*, viii, L. 334.

²⁴² On 4th January the Emperor entered his tents in Talkatora. *PRMH* i, pp. 172, 178.

²⁴³ Francklin, p. 169; *PRMH* i, D7c, (p. 176).

²⁴⁴ *PRMH*, i, p. 184.

²⁴⁵ Francklin, p. 169.

Najaf Quli ever intoxicated with wine²⁴⁶ and opium, still failed to interview²⁴⁷ the Emperor. The Jaipur *wakil* came and presented his master's gifts and protested his loyalty.

The Emperor praised the hereditary loyalty of that house. The Raja asked for some old Courtier who knew the ceremonies proper for presenting Jaipur Rajahs. None was present there—only upstarts like the Modi !

So the Jaipur Raja refused to accept the "welcome in advance" of these men and asked for the *nazir* Manzur Ali²⁴⁸. Emperor agreed. The *nazir* came quickly, welcomed the Rajah by advancing and presented him (3rd February 1788.)²⁴⁹

The Raja gave *hundies* for some lakhs of rupees as his tribute²⁵⁰. Emperor daily favoured him.

Najaf Quli was making ready for battle, the Emperor entrenched his position²⁵¹. The Emperor sent Badal Beg Khan and other Mughal Sardars 2 *kos* in advance of the imperial camp. Other generals entrenched on the Left and Begam Samru on the Right²⁵².

The Mughal troops with Badal Beg and other Turani captains spent all the night in licentiousness and drinking and fell asleep 3 hours before dawn.

One day Najaf Quli, learning of this negligence delivered a night attack²⁵³, doing havoc among the Mughlia of these trenches. Shah Mir Khan slain ; but Himmat Bahadur drove the men of Najaf Quli out of the trenches. The Emperor himself boldly advanced. Begam Samru,²⁵⁴ present before his elephant, and fired her guns so heavily that Najaf Quli fled into Gokulgarh. At dawn the Emperor returned to his tents.

Najaf Quli being ashamed begged the Emperor's pardon through Samru's wife (Begam Samru). He was pardoned ; he was presented through the Begam's mediation.²⁵⁵

The Emperor, hunting on the way, came back to Delhi on 22nd March 1788.

²⁴⁶ *CPC*, viii, L. 234.

²⁴⁷ Najaf Quli sent his *wakil* Bhawanidas to the Emperor with a message to grant him the audience first and thereafter the Jaipur Raja. *PRMH*, i, pp. 180-182.

²⁴⁸ As there was then no noble present high enough to welcome the Jaipur Rajah. order was sent to the Nazir to come quickly from Delhi, and pending his arrival the audience was postponed. *Ibrat*, III, 196.

²⁴⁹ Jaipur Raja visits the Emperor. *PRMH*, i, pp. 180, 182 ; *MR*, i, Ls. 274, 279, 281, 284 ; *CPC* viii, Ls. 226, 256 ; *Ibrat*, III, 196, 197.

²⁵⁰ Jaipur Raja gave *hundies* for Rs. 25,000 to the Emperor. *HPMS*, L. 518, (p. 718). *MR*, i, L. 274 ; *CPC*, viii, L. 234.

²⁵¹ *MR*, i, L. 281.

²⁵² The detailed account of the Gokulgarh campaign (against Najaf Quli Khan) is given by Francklin, pp. 169-175. See also *MR*, i, Ls. 272, 274, 281 ; *HPMS*, L. 518, (p. 718) ; *Ibrat*, III, 198-199 ; *CPC*, viii, Ls. 234.

²⁵³ See *Ibrat*, III, 198-199.

²⁵⁴ For the gallantry of Begam Samru in this Battle, See Francklin, p. 173.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 174-75 ; *CPC*, viii, L. 334.

326 After entering Delhi Fort the Emperor wrote to Amir-ul-Umara (i.e. Sindia)²⁵⁶ to punish Ismail Khan and Ghulam Qadir who had risen in rebellion in the Agra and Aligarh districts. Begam Samru, who enjoyed prosperous fiefs already, now asked greedily for money to pay her troops with. The Emperor declined. She left for her fiefs in a few days.

327 Just then a letter came from Prince Jawan Bakht saying that he was coming from Benares with a large army and many guns to the rescue of the Emperor²⁵⁷. He quickly came²⁵⁸ and encamped in the plain of the old Fort. The Nazir²⁵⁹ and Ram Ratan Modi, hostile to him, delayed his interview on the pretext of choosing an suspicious day. But the Prince sent Sulaiman Shukoh and induced the Emperor by smooth talk to grant the interview.²⁶⁰ He came and lived in the fort for some days. The Wazir and Ram Ratan excited the Emperor's suspicion. The Prince noticed the Emperor's ill-will.²⁶¹ The Prince's advisers counselled him to expel the Nazir and the Modi and undertake the regulation of the State himself. The Prince refused to act against his father's wishes²⁶² and decided to go back²⁶³.

328 He left²⁶⁴ with his *Khas* wife (Ahsana Begam).

The Prince marched to Hodal—looted and imprisoned the villagers of Mitrail²⁶⁵, who used to rob the way-agers. Thence he went to Koil, where Ghulam Qadir waited on him²⁶⁶.

The Prince went to see Aligarh fort, though Ghulam Qadir was alarmed by the proposal.

329 So the Prince (on an elephant) kept Ghulam Qadir's hand firmly in his own hands all the time he was in the fort seeing its houses and towers..... Then he turned towards Agra.

²⁵⁶ *CPC*, viii L. 244. The Emperor had called Sindia but after seeing other courtiers against him, he was asked to wait at Rewadi. See *MR*, i, L. 232.

²⁵⁷ *Ibrat*. (III, 89-90) says—"Nazir makes Emperor write inviting Prince".

²⁵⁸ *MR*, i, L. 232.

²⁵⁹ "The Nazir, envious of the prince's authority, and constant in his attachment to the turbulent Gholaum Cadir, set at work every engine to sow dissension in the royal family, and alienate the King's mind from his son." *Francklin*, p. 163.

²⁶⁰ After interviewing the Emperor, the Prince got the *subnedari* of Agra and the Robe of Regent. *PRMH* i, D7a, (pp. 171-172); *MR*, i, L. 236. (17th December 1784).

²⁶¹ See *Francklin*, pp. 264-165.

²⁶² "The Emperor told the prince to halt in Delhi for sometime, and improve the hopelessly broken down administration by staying in his tent." *PRMH* i, D7a, (p. 171).

²⁶³ The Prince finding the Emperor hostile to him, decided to prepare for going to Agra. *Ibid*, p. 172.

²⁶⁴ He took his *Conge* on 21 Dec. (1787) and began his march on 24th December. *ibid*,

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 178; *Ibrat Nama* III, 107-110.

²⁶⁶ See *Francklin*, p. 166; *PRC*, i, L. 202.

Ismail Khan did fail to serve the Prince²⁶⁷, who returned in disappointment to Benaras²⁶⁸. Here he died in a few days from *Qolanji*²⁶⁹ (31st May 1788).

Mahadji sends Rana Khan against Ismail and Ghulam Qadir²⁷⁰.—Rana Khan crossed the Chambal and arrived near Bharatpur²⁷¹ and Dig. Ismail and Ghulam Qadir after strengthening their trenches round Agra fort, hastened to fight him²⁷². Rana Khan keeping Dig at his back, made ready for battle. Every day severe fights took place. One day Ghulam Qadir defeated and drove the Marathas back,²⁷³ himself reached the foot of the fort wall and planted ladders for mounting, but the garrison slew and wounded many with their bombs and fire²⁷⁴.

Ghulam Qadir asked for reinforcements from Ismail, who did nothing. So Ghulam Qadir in disgust returned to his camp and next morning parted from his ally and went to Agra; and thence crossing the Jamuna, went to Shahdara and encamped. Rana Khan won him over with oaths and assurances²⁷⁵. Ismail Khan went back to Agra and pressed the siege of the fort. Rana Khan arrived close behind him. Ismail galloped into the heart of the enemy. A great battle²⁷⁶.

The enemy reached the fort (?) Ismail Khan, unable to withstand, issued from the battle field with 200 troops and drove in the midst of the river. Raza Beg and other Sardars were drowned²⁷⁷, Ismail escaped with his life with four troopers, crossing the river²⁷⁸. Then he recrossed the Jamuna and entered Dahi wishing to wait on the Emperor. The Emperor, to please Sindia, ordered²⁷⁹ him to leave the City. He did so and joined Ghulam Qadir²⁸⁰ in district Koil.

Radloji Sindha, with 3,000 troops sent by Amir-ul-Umara²⁸¹, remained in the presence.

The Nazir and Ram Ratan again selfishly sent a message to Ghulam Qadir to come to the Presence²⁸², and easily take possession of the City and Fort, Ghulam

²⁶⁷ *PRMH*, i, D15c, D15d, (p. 182); *Francklin*, p. 165.

²⁶⁸ *MR*, i, L. 251; *PRMH*, i, p. 189; *PRC*, i, L. 204.

²⁶⁹ "He was attacked with violent spasms, and during a short interval from pain, had just sufficient time to dictate a letter to the British Governor General, recommending his family to the protection of the English nation, which being finished, he expired quietly a few minutes after, in the forty-eighth year of his age." *Francklin*, p. 167; See also *MR*, i, L. 296; *CPC*, viii, L. 463.

²⁷⁰ *Francklin*, p. 175; *PRMH*, i, p. 185.

²⁷¹ *MR*, i, L. 233.

²⁷² *Ibid*, L. 297.

²⁷³ *PRC*, i, Ls. 208-210; *MR*, i, L. 233.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid*.

²⁷⁵ Sindia plans to conciliate Ghulam Qadir, to prevent him from joining Ismail. *PRMH*, i, p. 185.

²⁷⁶ See *Francklin*, pp. 175-176; *MR*, i, L. 300, 303; *PRMH*, i, pp. 185-189; *PRC*, i, Ls. 222, 223; *HPMS*, Ls. 524-527, 529; *CPC*, viii, L. 561.

²⁷⁷ *HPMS*, Ls. 522, 524, 525.

²⁷⁸ *MR*, i, Ls. 300, 303; *PRMH*, i, p. 190; *HPMS*, L. 524.

²⁷⁹ *MR*, i, L. 304.

²⁸⁰ *MR*, i, L. 303; *HPMS*, L. 527; *PRC*, i, L. 223.

²⁸¹ *HPMS*, L. 530; *PRMH*, i, p. 191.

²⁸² *PRMH*, i, pp. 193-94; *MR*, i, Ls. 307, 333; *HPMS*, L. 530; *CPC*, viii, L. 624.

334 Qadir came from Koil by forced marches and encamped on the east bank of the Jamuna²⁸³. The Emperor ordered his generals to entrench the river bank and prevent the enemy's crossing.

The Nazir and Modi were sending powder and shot laden on 200 bullocks to the Afghan across the river. Detected by the Emperor, who overlooking it.

335 The Afghan corrupted Badal Beg with money into not opposing his crossing. One *pahar* of the day remained when Ghulam Qadir began to cross ; all the Turanis vacated their trenches, the loyal (Hindu) generals could do nothing and feared that if they stayed they would fall into a trap. So, four *gharis* before sunset they also vacated their trenches, went to the Emperor and urged him for his safety to go with them to the plain of Faridabad, where they would guard him and Rana Khan would quickly arrive to the rescue.

336 The Emperor considered it a disgrace to leave the fort. Himmat Bahadur and Radloji Sindia took their congee and at night reached Faridabad²⁸⁴. Ghulam Qadir after crossing the river, rode along on horse-back to the gate of the fort, there dismounted, and bare-footed, with the help of the Nazir, had his audience²⁸⁵, received the Emperor's own apparel and returned to his place of alighting.

Next morning at dawn, he entered the fort through the wicket (daricha) fearlessly, and desired the gate to be opened. The guards objected (nearly 2,000 men), manning their guns, and reported the matter to the Emperor.

337 The (Nazir) protested Ghulam Qadir's ridelity to the Emperor, who remained silent, (gap in text).

Rana Khan and Radloji Sindia, as ordered by Mahadji²⁸⁶ to punish Ghulam Qadir, arrived quickly at the plain of the old Fort, planted their guns on the river bank²⁸⁷. Thence they came and sat down in Zinatunnisa's mosque, pressing the Afghans hard.

338 A quarrel²⁸⁸ broke out between Ghulam Qadir and Ismail Beg about division of the money and jewels captured and the latter, intent on over-throwing the former, made terms with Rana Khan, through Radolji Sindia²⁸⁹. He met Rana Khan²⁹⁰ in the Zinat mosque and removed ill feeling from his heart²⁹¹.

Ghulam Qadir, despairing at this occurrence, sent his property across the river²⁹² from the fort in boats at Nili Chhatri²⁹³. The river was then raging in flood, the Ruhelas in crossing in distraction in Kharmal (?) were mostly drowned²⁹⁴.

²⁸³ *PRMH*, i, p. 194; *MR*, i, L. 308.

²⁸⁴ *PRMH*, i, D19d (p. 197); *MR*, i, L. 304.

²⁸⁵ *PRMH*, i, p. 196; *MR*, i, L. 304; *Francklin*, p. 178.

²⁸⁶ *Francklin*, p. 187.

²⁸⁷ *MR*, i, L. 324.

²⁸⁸ *MR*, i, L. 309, 325; *PRC*, i, Ls. 232, 234.

²⁸⁹ *HPMS*, L. 537; *CPC*, viii, L. 765.

²⁹⁰ *MR*, i, L. 312.

²⁹¹ *Ibid*, i, 325; *PRC*, ii, 236; *CPC*, viii Ls. 764, 788.

²⁹² *MR*, i, L. 325; *PRC*, ii, 236; *CPC*, viii, L. 788.

²⁹³ *CPC*, viii, L. 764. *Nili Chhatri* is the tomb at Naubat Khan (an Amir of the time of Akbar). It stands almost midway between Purana Qila and the tomb of Hazarat Nizammuddin Aulia. It is popularly known as *Nili Chhatri*, from the fact of its dome having been originally ornamented with blue caustic tiles. *Ibid*.

²⁹⁴ *HPMS*, L. 537; *CPC*, viii, L. 764.

Rana Khan, arriving below the mansion of Dara Shukoh, and Qudsia Bagh fixed his trenches²⁹⁵, while Ismail's soldiers stood in Khas Bazar²⁹⁶ and the Imperial Urdu. Grain, fodder and fuel could not reach the fort, hence Ghulam Qadir determined to cross the river.

On 11th October 1788 (10 Muharram) successive explosions took place in the powder magazines near the fort palace²⁹⁷. The stone fell upto the Lahori Gate of the city and the Delhi Gate and Ajmerei Gate. Frightened Ghulam Qadir crossed in a boat with Mirza Akbar Shah²⁹⁸.

Rana Khan came to the Emperor and offered presents²⁹⁹. He was ordered to cross immediately and arrest the traitor.

Rana Khan at once obeyed, crossed at Okhla Ghat, and encamped 4 *kos* from the wretch's camp at Shahdara. Every day there were fights between the patrols, The Afghans fled away at night to Mirat.³⁰⁰ The Imperialist pursued and laid siege to Mirat³⁰¹. Ali Beg (Ali Bahadur) sent by Amir-ul-Umara with a large force, by forced marches here joined Rana Khan and shared in the siege³⁰². In a few days the Afghans left Mirat through hunger and came to the (Imperial?) camp¹⁸.

Ghulam Qadir seeing this, at night with 200 troops issued out of Mirat³⁰⁴ and set out for Shamli³⁰⁵. On the way his horse stumbled into a hole³⁰⁶ in the darkness his companions did not notice it (but rode on). In the morning, Ghulam Qadir coming out of the hollow, with difficulty, in the robe of a *qalandar*, barefooted, and began to walk. Unaccustomed to walking, he sat down every 2 or 3 steps. In that plain was a *faqir's takia*; he arrived there, and begged for water from the *faqir* in the agony of thirst and fatigue. A Brahman was sitting there; he recognized Ghulam Qadir³⁰⁷.

The Brahman carried him to his own house, concealed³⁰⁸ him there and sent word to the officers of the imperial army who were in pursuit to take him to their chief. He was conducted to Ali Bahadur³⁰⁹, who arrested³¹⁰ and kept Ghulam

²⁹⁵ *PRC*, i, L. 235; *CPC*, viii, Ls. 765, 766, 797.

²⁹⁶ *CPC*, viii, L. 763.

²⁹⁷ *MR*, i, L. 344.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid*; *Francklin*, pp. 187-88.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid*; *CPC*, viii, L. 797.

³⁰⁰ *Francklin*, p. 188.

³⁰¹ *MR*, i, Ls. 359, *HPMS*, L. 539.

³⁰² *Francklin*, p. 188; *MR*, i, L. 347; *HPMS*, L. 540, 548.

³⁰³ *HPMS*, L. 551.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid*; *MR*, i, L. 362; *Francklin*, p. 189; *CPC*, viii, L. 918.

³⁰⁵ *HPMS*, L. 555.

³⁰⁶ Cf. *MR*, i, L. 309; *HPMS*, L. 555.

³⁰⁷ *Francklin* (p. 189) says that 'the accident compelled him to take refuge in an adjoining village, where, being recognised by the *Zamindar* of the village, he was seized, and put into confinement'. See also *PRC*, i, Ls. 241, 243; *CPC*, viii, L. 921.

³⁰⁸ *HPMS*, L. 555 gives same story.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid*; *PRC*, i, L. 241.

³¹⁰ *MR*, i, Ls. 358, 359, 366; *HPMS*, Ls. 552, 555.

342 Qadir with honour and care and wrote to the Emperor for orders. The Emperor ordered him to be taken to Mahadji. Ali Bahadur set out for Mathura with his captive, and there handed him over to Mahadji³¹¹, who put him in iron cage³¹².

After two months he cut off his nose and extracted the pupils of both his eyes³¹³, he paraded them through the lanes and *bazars* of Mathura, and threw them into in the wilderness of the jungle.

343 Ram Ratan³¹⁴ befriended by Lala Keshi Lal, the *Krori* of the imperial camp and all the sayers, and a favourite of Rana Khan—saved himself by paying 6 lakhs to Amir-ul-Umara through Rana Khan's mediation and thus caused his escheated houses to be restored³¹⁵.

Amir-ul-Umara did not deem it expedient to slay the Nazir³¹⁶, sent him to the Emperor, who pardoned him and assigned to him Rs. 3 and 4 trays of food from the imperial kitchen every day³¹⁷.

In the 31st year

344 Ram Ratan died of *Bawasir* (piles).

The author had been writing this history of the Emperor, from the 15th year of his age ; now that he has reached his 50th year, his eye-sight has failed. Upto the 30th year he has written the incidents year by year separately. Now, owing to his blindness he will write the events from the 31st to the 38th year briefly.

345 Rana Khan, after finishing the business of Ghulam Qadir, joined Sindia at Mathura and removed his hostile feeling towards Ismail Beg. Sindia gave him 2 lakhs in cash, some guns and material and sent him to Shekhawati for taking possession of that region³¹⁸. Ismail started ; the Shekhawats in vast numbers fought him, and were routed³¹⁹ and their guns were captured by Ismail. Mahadji Sindia wrote to him to send these guns on. Ismail was a great drunkard, refused as he had seized them by the strength of his own arms”.

346 Mahadji consulted Appa Khande Rao and other Sardars but they advised him not to punish Ismail this time, in view of the great mischief his hostility might produce. But Mahadji Sindia ordered De Boigne to go and uproot him³²⁰.

347 When De Boigne reached Patan district, Ismail Khan with a vast force and 2 *campos* arrived for fighting. War³²¹ continues for four months. De Boigne seduced the Captains and commanders of the *paltans* with promise of 2 lakhs of *ashrafis* in cash to desert him,— with promise of doubling their pay in Sindia's

³¹¹ *MR*, i, L. 372.

³¹² *MR*, i, L. 356 ; *Francklin*, p. 190.

³¹³ *MR*, i, Ls. 378, 380 ; *Francklin*, p. 190.

³¹⁴ Ram Ratan Modi was arrested by Ravloji Sindhia. *MR*, i, Ls. 355, 369.

³¹⁵ See *MR*, i, Ls. 373,381.

³¹⁶ Nazir arrested. See *MR*, i, L. 385 ; *PRC*, viii, L. 1098.

³¹⁷ The Nazir on his arrival at Delhi, was trodden to death under the feet of an elephant. *Francklin*, p. 190.

³¹⁸ *Francklin*, p. 188 ; *PRC*, i, p. 332.

³¹⁹ *MR*, i, L. 352.

³²⁰ *HPMS*, L. 57.

³²¹ Battle of Patan — See *PRMH*, ii, pp, 36-37 ; *HPMS*, L. 574, 575 ; *PRC*, i, Ls. 260-264. (Patan = 60 miles N. of Jaipur, and 18 miles S. W. of Narnol.)

service. De Boigne handed over boxes to their *wakils*, containing Brass *ashrafs* (which he had coined ²²²), and told them to fire blank charges from their cannon in next days' battle and come over to him. In the battle De Boigne fired balls ; Ismail's *paltans* on seeing this breach on faith on the Firingi's part, were puzzled, and fled away. Ismail Beg on seeing the turn the battle had taken, fled to Kanaud District²²².

Najaf Qali's wife was in Kanund²²³. Apa Khande Rao with Perron was in that district for conquering that fort and managing the Narnol *Parganahs*, etc.²²⁴. Ismail entered Kanund fort, which Apa besieged²²⁵. Famine in the fort, the garisoh sent out overtures for vacating it²²⁶. Ismail, in order to forestall them, went away to Perron's camp.

Perron set up fresh tents for him and kept him under surveillance, but in the end breaking his promise, delivered him up to Amir-ul-Umara, who confined him in Agra fort, on a daily allowance of Rs. 25. He lived here for four years and then died.

Mahadji starts for the Deccan inspite of the Emperor's prohibition on the ground of Nana Fadnis's jealousy²²⁷ of his unequalled by any Deccani before power and dignity.

Nana's creatures in Mahadji's Court treacherously urged him to go.

Sindia left Gopal Rao Bhau to regulate Hindustan²²⁸--and reached Poona.

²²² *MR*, ii, Ls. 23 ; *HPMS*, L, 575.

²²³ *MR*, ii, I.. 44, *HPMS*, L 601.

²²⁴ *Ibid*, L. 25.

²²⁵ *MR*, ii, Ls. 44, 46 ; *HPMS*, Ls. 600-602.

²²⁶ *MR*, ii, L. 48.

²²⁷ See *PRC*, i, Ls, 249, 279-281.

²²⁸ *Franklin*, p. 199.

TATYA TOPE'S MOVEMENTS IN GUJARAT (1857-58)

The account of movements in Gujarat of Tatya Tope of 1857 fame is unfolded in the records published here. The documents printed in this section are from Bombay Government Political Department Vols. No. 64 and 65 of 1858. They delineate an interesting and vivid picture of the conflict between Tatya Tope and the British Government during the former's flight in Gujarat.

Tatya Tope was defeated at Gwalior by Sir H. Rose and thereafter haughtily pursued by General Roberts to the border of Marwar. In his flight, Tatya succeeded in avoiding the Neemuch and Udepur detachments. But Major Sutherland defeated him on the bank of the Narmada. Tatya, appearing on the bank of this river, thought of crossing it and was making through Ali Rajpur and Chhota Udepur into Baroda. There was a dense forest between the Gaikwad's territory and the Narmada. He could have chosen two roads to reach Baroda, one by Chhota Udepur and Sankheda to Baroda and another by Jabua to Dohad. There were all the possibilities that Tatya's strong force might endanger the position of the Gaikwad and the rebels might infect the people of that place. The Gaikwad was an ally of the British Government.

Sir R. C. Shakespear, the Political Commissioner in Gujarat was acting as a Resident at Baroda. He had friendly relations with the Maharaja, the Gaikwad. He prevented Gujarat from joining Tatya Tope. For that Sir Shakespear planned out arrangements of the Royal Troops and channelized the Imperial Military in different directions in accordance with the movements of the rebels of Tatya Tope. In spite of these Military arrangements of Sir Shakespear, Tatya Tope quickly escaped from the trap arranged for him. The march of Tatya Tope was of extra-ordinary rapidity. He plundered the horses and ponies en route to Chhota Udepur. To chase Tatya Tope, Sir Shakespear arranged the movements of the Troops, Irregular Cavalries and Irregular Horse under Major Wallace and Capt. Buckle.

To prevent Gujarat from joining Tatya Tope, Shakespear promptly took measures for disarming the population. The work of confiscating arms of the people from Bijapur, Vadnagar, Visnagar and Kheralu was entrusted to different officers, helped by the Political Agent. Most of the villagers in Gujarat refused to surrender the arms. They thought it below their dignity to surrender their arms to the Government and they avoided doing so under one excuse or the other. Accustomed to arms from early childhood, the Rajput villagers of Pol, Idar, Nani Marwar, Lunavada, etc. of the former Mahi Kantha Agency, tried to resist all encroachments on their traditional rights on the excuse of fears of attack from the neighbouring villages. Sir Shakespear who became sad on receiving the above news felt delighted when he came to know that Thakur of Medhasan had no serious intention of giving any trouble to the Government¹. Before the appearance of Tatya, the disarming of people in the Mahi Kantha Agency was completed. These measures were taken in April and May 1858 by Maj. Grim's field force. There was doubtless much excitement, humiliation and

¹ No. 1 of the Text.

distrust, prevailing against the British in that territory, but those feelings faded out and the people remained true to Government's cause. Such was the report made by Maj. Whitelock, Political Agent in the Mahi Kantha to the Political Commissioner, Gujarat.

It is also noticed in the correspondence that the men of *risala* of the Gujarat Horse revolted and when they were imprisoned, their depositions were obtained and forwarded to the Government. At last it is found that the depositions given by them were contradictory statements and there was nothing worth to take notice of².

Another step towards quelling the rebellious trend of the people was giving out the "Queen's Proclamation". Maj. Whitelock, Pol. Agent in Mahi Kantha, invited all the Chiefs in his territory for meeting and for promulgating before them the Queen's Proclamation³. Meantime, the Government received submission from the Thakur of Mondetti to remain faithful to serve the British and keep a check on Bhils⁴. Thereafter Shakespear authorized Whitelock to employ in his service the *swars* of the Thakur of Mondetti.

In those years, the British Government also adopted appeasing policy. For the appreciation of the good conduct of some of the Thakurs who remained loyal to the British, the presents were given. The prisoners who were previously arrested on the charge of seditious language were released⁵.

Armed with all these precautions, Shakespear took offensive measures against Tatya Tope : he made all arrangements to face marching Tatya Tope at Udepur. The Raja of Udepur was absent from his Capital for the supervision of the *Jamabandi* of his districts. On hearing the appearance of the rebels there, he returned home to afford protection to his small fort, in which his palace was situated. Tatya Tope and his force arrived at Udepur and plundered the town. Brig. Parke surprised the rebels and dispersed them to different directions⁶. On 25th November 1858, small parties of them fled to South and South-West as several of them were made prisoners at Jabugaon. To arrest this progress it was suggested that a force should be stationed at Sankheda. Capt. Bonner was kept at Chhota Udepur for protecting the adjoining areas. The other flying parties of the rebels traversed the Baria forests in different directions, searching for their main body. Thereafter they reassembled at Piplod. One party of the rebels from Deogad Baria which moved to the South-West threatening Halol and the road to Baroda, also returned to Piplod. Thereafter they began to retrograde in the direction of Jhalod and Limdi and marched to the eastern bank of the Anas, where they halted for a while. The Naikdas also joined them. Emissaries were dispatched with the Queen's Proclamation to make it known in the rebels' camp. The rebels were at Sagbara, west of Banswara. The passage of the rebels through those districts caused considerable disorganisation⁷. On 30th November the Rebels' force arrived at Chhota Udepur and plundered the town. Capt. Buckle fell heavily on the mutineers at Chhota Udepur, and tried to force them to retreat⁸. The next morning Brig. Parke surprised and dispersed them.

² No. 5.

³ No. 6.

⁴ No. 7.

⁵ No. 11.

⁶ No. 52.

⁷ No. 54.

⁸H. S. B. R. II, Letter No. 153.

Another party of Tatya's troops surprised Capt. Collier and his men at Jabugaon and plundered the Thana. One group of rebels attacked *Bahadurpur*. The British force stationed there inflicted a severe defeat on them. They sustained considerable loss and fled, shouting and howling, towards Piplod a village near Godhra, in Deogad-Baria State.

The mutineers plundered the town of Jhalod inflicting great injury and loss of property on the inhabitants of those places. They tried to open the gates of the fort of Jhalod. The Mamlatdar and other officers escaped in the dark. The rebels carried away about 2,000 rupees out of treasure chest and destroyed the records and other furniture of the Kutcherry. Jhalod was reoccupied by a small party of Seebundy from Dohud, but the district of which the principal population were Bhils, was in a state of disorganization⁹. A body of rebels was observed between the Narmada and Tapi passing through in various places and colluding with the rebels. Captain Collier's retrograde movement was a serious misfortune which caused the flight of the Udepur Raja and absurd and preposterous reports spread throughout the country¹⁰. The Governor in Council regretted Capt. Collier's falling back from Chhota Udepur¹¹. It was supposed that the rebels were divided into two parties. One party ejected the Rawal of Banswara and another was at Sagbara¹². The British authorities desired that the rebels should submit rather than the Government should be compelled to crush them. They hoped that the rebels would avail themselves of the benefits of Her Majesty's Proclamation. It was resolved that the Proclamation should be explained to the Prisoners of the last action. Udepur was the significant post to hold until the Government was quite certain that the rebels had moved out of Rewa Kantha. Two parties of rebels returned from Baria in the direction of Halol and remained at a spot near Godha¹³. A Mohammedan prisoner was sent in the guise of a Fakir to rebels' camp with a Persian translation of a copy of the Royal Proclamation¹⁴. Thus ends the story of Tatya Tope's movements in Gujarat. The information given in these documents supplements the information already published in the Marathi documents¹⁵.

V. G. K.

⁹ No. 56.

¹⁰ No. 57.

¹¹ No. 59.

¹² No. 60.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ No. 61.

¹⁵ *Historical Selections from Baroda Records (New Series)*, II (Baroda, 1962).

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TATYA TOPE'S MOVEMENTS IN GUJARAT

No. 1.—*The Political Commissioner, Gujarat acknowledges the telegram wherein Capt. Buckle¹⁶ is directed to go to Ujjain¹⁷ with Swars and sends a report prepared by Capt. Buckle to Government.*

(Political Department, Vol. No. 64 of 1858, pp. 3-5).

No. 1181 of 1858.

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear¹⁸, Kt,
Political Commissr. in Guzerat.

To

H. L. Anderson Esqre.,
Secretary to Govt. Bombay.

Baroda Septr. 24, 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 3355 of date 18th Instant forwarding to me copy of a Telegram which had been sent the previous day directing Captain Buckle to go at once to Oojein (Ujjain) with as many Sowars as he could collect and not to wait for a larger body from Ahmedabad.

2nd. The above Telegram reached me late on the night of the 17th and I immediately sent it to the Ministers desiring them to think it over and let me know early in the morning, what number of Cavalry they could provide for service in Malwa¹⁹. The result was, that by noon of the 18th they had started from

¹⁶ Buckle, Christopher.—Captain in the Third Regt. Light Cavalry, Bombay Estt.; Apptd. Asstt. to Poll. Agent, Rewa Kantha, 13th Feb. 1856; Poll Agent, Rewa Kantha 5th Nov. 1858—E.I.R. 1858, p. 76; Ibid. 1859, p. 79.

¹⁷ Ujjain.—Town in the former State of Gwalior, (now in Madhya Pradesh), situated in the centre of Malwa, of which it is the traditional capital, in 23° 11' N. & 75°, 47' E. on the Ujjain-Bhopal Railway—Cen. Ind., p. 188.

¹⁸ Shakespear, Sir Richmond Campbell, Kt.—entd. Bengal Artillery 1827; col. 27th Nov. 1854; apptd. Resident, Baroda 13th Mar. 1857; Lt.-Col. 14th Jan. 1858—E.I.R. 1859, pp. 23, 62, 77, 197.

¹⁹ Malwa—A high level region forming the greater part of the western section of the Central India Agency lying between 23° 30' and 24° 30' N and 74° 30' and 78° 10' E.—Cen. Ind., p. 121.

Baroda—56 Regular Cavalry and 200 Irregular, the whole equipped with Tuttos²⁰ for their Carriage &c. and Major Wallace²¹ reports that during the 19th they had reached Godra (Godhra).

3rd. I sent an express to Major Wallace desiring him to direct Captain Buckle to take the 50 G. I. Horse stationed at Dohud²² and if possible to place 100 Gaekwar's Horse at the disposal of that officer, but it appeared that there were no Gaekwar's Horse, at or near Dohud and Major Wallace pushed on from Godra 75 of Scindia's mounted police.

4th. I have the honor to forward copy of Captain Buckle's report from which it will be seen that he has left Dohud on the 22nd In[s]t. unfortunately he has not mentioned what Cavalry he has taken with him.

5th. I beg, you will mention to the Right Honble the Governor that the detachment of G. I. Horse at Dohud consisted only of 50 Sowars; and that my escort at Baroda, the nearest station, consists of only 16 of all ranks. I sent a Duffadar²³, and ten of them to Dohud and telegraphed to Captn. Whitehill²⁴ to replace the Detach. taken by Captain Buckle from Dohud.

6th. On the 20th I received a telegram directing me to send 150 or 200 G. I. Horse if possible, under a European officer and in consequence of this order Lieut. Newton²⁵ with 150 Sowars started on the 21st In[s]t. from Ahmedabad for Oojein via Dohud.

7th. I cannot speak with certainty as yet, but hope that the following will be the strength of the Cavalry with Captain Buckle—210 and possibly 260 G. I. Horse and 250 Gaekwar's Horse.

²⁰ *Tattu*—a pony (*Wilson*, p. 823).

²¹ *Wallace, Robert*—entd. Bombay Native Infantry Eighteenth Regt. 1827; Capt. 24th Jan. 1845; apptd. Pol. Agent Rewa Kanta 1st Oct. 1853: Major 20th June 1854 (*E. I. R.* 1858, pp. 61, 77); apptd. Resident Baroda, Aug. 1859 (*Elliot*, p. 261).

²² *Dohad*.—Head-quarters of the taluka of the same name in the Panch Mahals District (now in Gujarat State), situated in 22° 50' N. and 74° 16' E. As the name Dohad (or "two boundaries") implies the town is situated on the line separating Malwa on the east from Gujarat on the west—*IGI. Vol. XI*, p. 366.

²³ *Dafadar*.—Commandant of a body of horse, head of a party of police, a police officer (*Wilson*, p. 181).

²⁴ *Whitehill, Stephen James Keate*—entd. Bombay Light Infantry Twenty-third Regt. 1836; Capt. 22nd June 1853; Commanding Gujarat Irregular Horse, 21st July 1856—*E.I.R.* 1858, pp. 66, 73.

²⁵ *Newton, James Patrick Murray*.—entd. 1851; apptd. Lieut. Eleventh Regt. Native Infantry, Bombay 27th June 1857—*E.I.R.* 1858, p. 54.

No. 2.—*The Political Commissioner is concerned over Major Whitelock's report regarding Rao of Pol & other Rajput Chiefs sympathising openly with Suraj Mal after attack on Mondetti and about the state of Mahi Kanta.*

No. 1252 of 1858.

(pp. 39-41).

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

To

H. L. Anderson Esquire,
Secretary to Government.
Bombay.

Dated Baroda, 9th October 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter, No. 1197 of date 25th ultimo, I have the honor to forward, in original, a letter No. 757^{25a}, of date 6th Instant, from Major Whitelock²⁶, with its enclosure as per margin.

2 There are three points which appear to me to be requiring attention.

Major Whitelock's letter No. 715 of 22nd ultimo to Captain Annesley. Captain Annesley's reply No. 338 of 1st instt. & its enclosure.

1st. The conduct of the Rao of Pole's²⁷ people in stopping the Detachment of the Meywar Bheel Corps.

3. On this point, I would recommend that nothing further be said. The Rao immediately ordered the passage of the Detachment on hearing of its detention.

2nd. The second point is the assembly of the Rao of Pole, the Thakore²⁸ of Pole and Thakore Jorawar Singh of Porah.

4. After the attack on Mondetti²⁹ these Chiefs are said to have joined Sooruj Mull³⁰.

^{25a} *Vide P. D. Vol. No. 64 of 1858, pp. 43-59.*

²⁶ *Whitelock, Charles Robert*.—entd. 1827; apptd. Major Eleventh Native Infantry Bombay, 20th June 1854; apptd. Pol. Agent Mahi Kanta 6th June 1856—*E.I.R.* 1858, pp. 25, 77.

²⁷ *Rao of Pol*.—Pol, a petty Thakurat (Bhomia) in Idar Taluka of the Nanee Marwar Zilla of the former Mahi Kantha Agency (*S.R.B.G.*, XII, pp. 58, 84-85), comprising sixty villages on the north-east frontier of Mahi Kantha. It marches with Meywar in Rajputana. The country is hilly and wild, (*B.G.*, V, p. 412).

²⁸ *Thakore of Pol*.—Mohobut Sing Thakur, Chief of Pole was of Rathore caste. He had three sons namely Lukhmon Sing, Khooman Sing and Lall Sing.—*S.R.B.G.* XII, pp. 82-83.

²⁹ *Mondeti or Mondeta*.—Thakurat (Sardar Patawat) in Idar Taluka, Nanee Marwar Zilla of the former Mahi Kantha Agency. Thakur Zalim Sing Chowan was the Chief of Mondetta or Chowan Puta. He depended on Suraj Mal. He was paying tribute to the Gaikwar. This Puta included the towns of certain Oodavats and Jetavuts. In 1857 when the registrations of arms and the disarming on the part of the people took place, British force fought at Taringa hill, and the town of Mondetti was carried by assault. (*S.R.B.G.* II, pp. 80-81, 119; *I.G.I.*, XVII, p. 16).

³⁰ *Surajmal*.—Surajmal, a claimant of the Lunavada Gadi, had attacked the Raja of Lunavada, but was repulsed with severe loss and had since been harboured in the village of Pali. On the approach of Lt. Alban's force, it was attacked by Surajmal's Rajputs and the village was accordingly burnt. Then the order was restored in Panch Mahals and it was not again disturbed till Tatya Tope entered the Mahals. (*B.G.I.*, pt. I, p. 441).

5. This point is referred to by Major Whitelock in the 4th para. of his letter, he attributes the meeting to the fear of the disarming operation being extended.

6. I incline to place greater importance upon this assembly, and will write to Captain Annesley³¹ to request him to ascertain from his Bheels who were present at the meeting what was the intention of the Chiefs.

3. The 3rd point is the one referred to in the concluding para. of Major Whitelock's letter, from which it appears that the Thakore of Mehdasun³² has 45 Foot & 50 Horsemen and that he is deeply involved in debt.

7. Major Whitelock advises the Thakore to disband his followers. The Thakore's Karbaree, on the other hand, begs that some service may be given to his master, to enable him to feed his followers.

8. To judge of the merits of such a question, it is necessary to know, whether the followers are the old hereditary followers of the family, or new Levies.

9. According to page 81 of the selections Bombay Record "Mhye Kaunta"³³ the following of Mehdasun is 20 Horse & 18 Foot.

I will write to Major Whitelock for information.

10. In conclusion, I beg to say that I don't like the tone in which the Karbaree of Mehdasun asks the Political Agent to give service to his master's followers.

11. I don't like the news of Pole, Pal³⁴ & other Chiefs sympathising openly, with Sooruj Mull, I am not easy about the state of Mhye Kaunta.

12. I do not believe it possible that the Rajpoot Chiefs of that District, can contemplate rebellion against us ; but I am convinced that the feeling is adverse to us, & that it ought to be as amongst all other Rajpoot Chiefs, in the Province a hearty goodwill.

³¹ Annesley, John Tisdall.—entd. 1842; apptd. Captain Twenty-Sixth Regiment N. I. Bombay, 23rd November 1856. (E.I.R. 1858, p. 69).

³² *Thakore of Mehdashan*.—Ajit (Ujeeht) Singh Jodi was the Thakore of Mehdasun of Idar Taluka of Nanee Marwar Zilla of Mahi Kantha Agency. He was of 43 years of age. He belonged to the caste of Rathore Joda. He had 3 sons. Humeer Sing, Suraj Mul and Purbat Sing. The Thakore was paying tribute to the Gaikwar. (S.R.B.G. XII, pp. 80-81).

³³ *Mahi Kantha*.—Group of native States forming a Political Agency under the former Government of Bombay, lying between 23° 14' and 24° 28' N. and 72° 40' and 74° 5' (IGI. Vol. XVII, pp. 12, 16).

³⁴ *Pal*.—A Bhomia village in the Idar Taluka of the Nanee Marwar Zilla of the former Mahi Kantha Agency. Bhayat Pal depended on the Rao of Pola, Ruttum Sing Rathore, whose ancestors were the Raos of Idar. Rai Sing Rathore, Mehuyut of Pall paid Salami to Tintooee and paid tribute to the Gaikwar. (S.R.B.G., XII pp. 58, 125-26).

No. 3.—*The Political Commissioner informs that the Thakore of Mehdasun has no serious intention of troubling the Government.*

No. 1262 of 1858.

(p. 149).

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

To

H. L. Anderson Esquire,
Secretary to Government.
Bombay.

Dated Baroda 12th October 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 1249 of date 8th Instant, I have the honour to forward for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council, copy of a Telegram, of date 11th Instant, from Major Whitelock, from which I am led to hope that the Thakore of Mehdasun has no serious intention of giving the Government any trouble.

No. 4.—*The Political Agent, Mahi Kanta, reports to the Political Commissioner regarding the state of affairs in neighbouring districts and mentions the doubtful conduct of the out-lawed Mondetti Thakore.*

No. 514 of 1858.

(pp. 177-180).

From

Major Whitelock,
Political Agent in the Mahee Kanta.

To

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

Dated Sadra³⁵ 7th August 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 908, dated 1. Mr. Secretary Anderson's letter No. 2838 dated 28th ultimo to your address.
2. Letter No. 170 dated 21st June from the officiating Political Agent in Mey-war with its enclosures.
3. From the Agent to the Governor General in Rajpootana, No. 701 dated 28th June last with enclosure.

³⁵ Sadra.—Head-quarters of the Mahi Kantha Agency of the former Bombay Precey. situated in 72° 47' N. and 23° 21' E. on the Sabarmati river—IGI. Vol. XXI, p. 348.

2nd. In reply to your first query, which is inserted in the margin for easy reference, I beg to state that there was doubtless much excitement, humiliation, and distrust prevailing in the districts under my control during the month of May and in the beginning of June last, caused 1st query. Does the correspondence abovementioned give an exaggerated account of the excitement prevailing in the Country from carrying out the measure of disarming.

entirely by the disarming measure, but these feelings were confined to that act, and which became greatly allayed on the reductions which took place in the strength of Major Grimes³⁶ Field Force and also owing to the disarming not having been carried on with the same vigour in June as before, there never had been, however, any hindrance along the road between Kherwara³⁷ and Deesa³⁸ or between the former and Ahmedabad. The life and freedom of an European Officer, as well as property belonging to our Government, accompanied by a small Escort, were as safe, in my opinion, during the period that the roads through the Mahee Kanta were supposed by Captain Showers to be closed, as at any other time during the last ten years, and if any Escort from the Meywar Bheel Corps either in these or in the neighbouring Gaekwar districts were surrounded, or threatened, their own conduct must have caused such an extraordinary occurrence.

The Excitement has almost subsided, and would probably have no existence in the course of a few Weeks 2nd query. If the Excitement Existed in the Country has it subsided, and what is the present state of the country.

taken by the Meywar Authorities may have, here it is impossible to foretell.

I never heard of any guard having to fight its way through these districts & Did you ever hear of any guard having to fight its way through yours or the neighbouring districts if so, I shall feel obliged by your reporting to me in detail, any circumstance connected with the case that may have come to your Knowledge. 3rd query.

Corps, which had to fight its way from Guzerat, and certainly it does appear to me that something more convincing than such a report as that of Naique Jufna of the Meywar Bheel Corps ought to have been required, before implicit credence was given to the alleged alarming state of these and the Gaekwar districts. The

³⁶ *Grimes George Robert*—encl. 1840; Major in Second Regt. N. I. 15th November 1858 (*E.I.R.* 1858, pp. 24, 45).

³⁷ Kherawara.—Taluka of the Sabar Kantha Zilla of the Mahi Kantha Agency. Thakur Kuber Singh was of 31 years of age and belonged to the Mukwana caste. He was paying tribute to the Gaikwar. (*S.R.B.G.*, XII, pp. 88-9).

³⁸ *Deesa (Disa)*.—Cantonment in the Palanpur Agency, in a former Bombay Presidency, situated in 24° 14' N. and 72° 12' E. On the left bank of the river Banas. In former times it successfully resisted the attacks of the Gaikwar of Baroda and of the Radhanpur forces—*IGI*, Vol. XI, P. 209.

Thakore of Mondetti has been in Baherwuttia³⁹ since the end of March last, and this circumstance has, I know, given rise to many reports which had no foundation, but whether he will proceed to Extremity, or return to his village, will probably be known within a few days, and on that depends whether there may be any interruption along the road passing through Paul (Pol) and Mondetti, but his influence will not extend, I think, as far as the line of road from Kherwara to Ahmedabad, but, even if he should commit any excess, I do not believe that any Chief of consideration will espouse his cause and there need be no great apprehension of the road to Ahmedabad, or indeed of that to Deesa a few miles lower down, via Tintooe⁴⁰ being closed.

No. 5.—*The Political Supdt., Palanpur, forwards to Government depositions of suspected persons and information about seditious expressions from the prisoner Kullandar Khan a discharged trooper.*

No. 128 of 1858.

(pp. 237-262).

From

Lt. Coll. J. R. Keily⁴¹,
Political Superintendent Pahlunpure.

To

H. L. Anderson Esqr.,
Secretary to Government.
Bombay.

Dated 23rd October 1858.

Sir

With reference to my letter No. 124 of 21st September last, reporting the apprehension of Kullunder Khan, I have the honour to submit for the consideration of His Lordship in Council, the Depositions^{41a} named in the margin, which

- B Deposition of Mulleck Goolab.
- C Do. of Kullunder Khan.
- D " of Soobedar Sheresha.
- E " of Jemadar Dostmahomed.
- F " of Soobedar Sheresha taken on the 23rd Septr.
- G Depo : of Bhddeen Khan Jemadar.
- H Do of Do taken before Captain Hayward.
- I Do. of Sepoy Khamahomed taken before Do.
- K Captain Hayward's report.
- L Depo. : of Natha Mollokchund.
- M Statement of Gunput Row Karkoon.
- N Depo : of Jugjeewun Sowar.
- O. Do. of Runchore Mehta.

have been taken by me in consequence of the accusations brought against the loyalty of the men of the Ressalah of the Goozerat Irregular Horse stationed at Wachole by Subadar Shere Sha belonging to the Ahmedabad Police Levy.

³⁹ *Barwatiya, Baharwarya, Bharwatiya*.—An outlaw, a Vagrant: A feudal dependent or a Chief in a State of open insurrection against his liege lord, or against the State, committing robbery and depredation on the country, and assuming the character of an outlaw. (Wilson, pp. 101, 120).

⁴⁰ *Tintooe*.—It was in the Nanee Marwar Zilla of the former Mahi Kantha Agency. This Pata consisted of seven villages, five of which were enjoyed by the Thakur and the remainder by his Bhayat. Dawlut Sing was the ruling Thakur, who was the great-grandson of Kunkajee. He was paying tribute to the Gaikwar. (S.R.B.G., XII, pp. 12, 47-52, 80-81).

⁴¹ *Keily, John Richard*—entd., 1827; Lt. Col. Second Regt., N. I., 5th July 1857; Poll Supdt., Palanpur. (E.I.R. 1858, pp. 45, 76).

^{41a} *Vide P. D. Vol No. 64 of 1858, pp. 265-328.*

2. In the letter aforementioned, I forwarded the statement of a Marwar Rajpoot Chief, and of Subadar Shere Sha, both deposing to having heard seditious Expressions from Kullunder Khan, at different places. And as I was aware of the importance of the case, I have endeavoured to obtain all the information I could, to enable Govt. to judge how far the accusations against the Goozerat Irregular Horse are deserving of credence.

3. The first Deposition marked B is that of Duffadar Mulluk Goolab of the Goozerat Irregular horse, who arrived at Palhunpore⁴² in charge of the Prisoner Kullunder Khan on the morning of the 22nd Sept. I was anxious to ascertain whether the Prisoner Kullunder Khan was on intimate terms with the men of the Ressalah⁴³, whether in the habit of visiting the Thanna, and attending at their religious ceremonies, and also whether Camels had been purchased of him by the Ressaldar, as stated by the Subadar. If these points could be established the Deposition of Subadar Shere Sha becomes more worthy of credence; for the antecedents of Kullunder Khan were well known to the whole Country, he was a discharged Trooper in a Legion which had mutinied after trying to murder the Comdg. Officer, and the other Europeans on the Hill at Aboo. A man of the age and standing of the Ressaldar should not have had any feeling in common with Kullunder Khan. A man of 32 years of age, of dissolute habits and in the employ of a Thakoor the enemy of Palhunpore, and relative of the Rohwa⁴⁴ outlaws, and for whose apprehension the Ressalah were especially placed at the Frontier village of Wachole, he should have been regarded as a spy, and his visits prohibited. If intimacy could be proved between persons so dissimilar in age and position, it would go far to prove that there is some feeling in common between them and this would materially strengthen the suspicions which had been raised against the Ressalah by the statement of the Subadar.

4. The Deposition of the Duffadar was therefore taken—all that I could elicit from him, was, that he had once seen Kullunder Khan at Wachole on the occasion of reading the Koodbah [Khutba] at the Ramzan Festival in April last, was present at the reading of the Fatiah⁴⁵ at Bhartram⁴⁶, but did not see Kullunder Khan there, noticed the Subadar Shere Sha then; knows that two Camels were purchased by his Ressaldar, but does not know from whom.

5. This person gave his evidence with great caution, weighing apparently before hand all he intended to utter, and the impression formed by me was, that

⁴² *Palanpur*.—Capital of the former Palanpur State in the Bombay Presidency (and now in Gujarat), situated in 24° 10' N. and 72° 28' E. It was the head-quarters of the Palanpur Political Agency. (*IGI Vol. XIX*. p. 354).

⁴³ *Risala, Risalah*.—A troop of horse. (*Wilson*, p. 710).

⁴⁴ *Rohwa (Rehwur)*.—A Zilla in the former Mahi Kantha Agency. (*S.R.B.G. XII*, p. 62).

⁴⁵ *Fatiah, Fateha, Fatiha, Fatekeh and Fateeah*.—An opening, a commencement. The first *Sura* of chapter of Koran, which being read for the benefit of dying Mahommadans. In India the term signifies the prayers offered up for defunct persons on different days after their death, accompanied by alms and distribution of food. (*Wilson*, p. 247).

⁴⁶ *Bhatram*.—A village 27 miles away from the Deesa Railway Station in Dhanera Taluka of the Banaskantha District (now in Gujarat). (*D.C.H. Banaskantha*, pp. 214-15).

he wished to conceal the intimacy which evidently existed between the Ressalah and Kullunder Khan for without previous acquaintance, Kullunder Khan would scarcely have attended to hear the Koodbal(h) read—the fact however of his name being known to the Ressalah, is a proof of some previous acquaintance, it could not have been his first visit. The purchase of two camel's in a small village like Wachole by the Ressaldar, was known to many, probably to every one in the village. Yet the Duffadar belonging to the same Thanna, pretended ignorance, and as I could not believe this, I could but conclude that he had some motive for concealing the fact. After taking his Deposition, the Duffadar was desired to remain at Pahlunpore, he disobeyed the orders given, and departed without informing any one of his intention to do so ; he evidently deemed disobedience of less consideration, than keeping his Ressaldar in ignorance of what had occurred, and I conclude therefrom, that his motives must have been unusually urgent, to induce him to risk my displeasure by thus letting my orders at defiance.

6. In the first Deposition of Kullunder Khan marked C that person admits his brother having sold two camels to the Ressaldar, denies all previous acquaintance with the Ressaldar, denies knowing the Subadar Shere Sha, denied going to the village of Bhartram to hear the Fatiah read on the death of the Jemedar's son. Admits having been sent by his Thakoor Mokum Sing with Thakoor Wukht Sing of Sewarra⁴⁷ to turn out some Scindees (vide statement of the Marwar⁴⁸ Thakoor, sent with my letter No. 124 of 21st Sept. last) and denies the use of seditious language as stated by the Thakoor Wukht Sing.

7. On being confronted with Subadar Shere Sha, Deposition D, after much prevarication admits going to Bhartram, after having in the first instance gone to Wachole, where he was invited by the Ressalah to eat with them at Bhartram, (this took place in April) he went there he says to say his prayers, not to hear the Fatiah read when reminded, that he had denied having gone to Bhartram, and only knew there was such a village by name, replied, that he had never denied it ; but in his deposition being read over to him, to shew that he had, says he thought the village of Sooral was mentioned ; unwillingly admitted that he knew Subadar Shere Sha, and tried to explain away his previous denial, by saying, that he did not know which Subadar was meant, denied the use of seditious words, and accounts for the accusation by saying that he had refused to sell the Subadar Shere Sha a camel, he coveted, and thereupon this accusation was preferred against him. Now admits visiting Ressalah at Bapla⁴⁹, Bhartram, and Wachole, these villages being near Wurgam⁵⁰, also admitted, that the Ressalah sowars visited Wurgam, and added, to have their guns repaired, when reminded

⁴⁷ *Sewarva (Seawara)*.—A Taluka in the Bavisee Zilla of the former Mahi Kantha Agency. The Thakur of Seawara paid tribute to the Gaikwar. (S.R.B.G., XII, pp. 92-3).

⁴⁸ *Marwara*.—Thakurat in the Idar Taluka of the Nanee Marwar Zilla of the former Mahi Kantha Agency. Thakur Mohobut Sing was the chieftain of this place. He was of 31 years of age and belonged to the Odavut vaste. He paid tribute to the Gaikwar. He had a son by name Jeswant Sing (S.R.B.G., XII, pp. 82-3).

⁴⁹ *Bapla*.—A village, eleven miles from Raniwada Rly. Station in Dhanera Taluka of the Banas Kantha District in Gujarat. (D.C.H., *Banaskantha* pp. 214-15).

⁵⁰ *Vurgaum, Waragam*.—Taluka in Rehwur Zilla of the former Mahi Kantha Agency. The chief of this place paid tribute to the Gaikwar. (S.R.B.G., XII, pp. 88-9, 122-3).

that they possess English Carbines, which did not require repairing, contradicted himself, and stated that he meant, the Ahmedabad Police visited Wurgam, and not the Ressalah.

8. From this Cross-Examination the intimacy between the prisoner Kullunder Khan and the Ressalah was by his own admission fully Established. He was present at Bhartram and eat there, notwithstanding the denial of the Duffadar ; the statement of the Subadar regarding the sale of the camels was also fully proved ; Kullunder Khan attempts to shew that there was no previous intimacy between himself and the Ressaldar, until the sale of the Camels ; and that during his absence on duty the Ressaldar without any previous acquaintance had sent a Bheel with a message to his brother, who also unacquainted with him, readily purchases and sends him the camels ; leaving it to Kullunder Khan to receive the money on his return to Wurgam—this is the prisoner[']s version of this transaction.

9. I know sufficient of the feeling existing between Pahlunpore, and Wankria Wurgam to be able to assert, that no such consideration would have been evinced to a Pahlunpore subject, and in proof I may mention that a few months ago, when a Pahlunpore horseman carrying Trucks into the Wurgam Putta, was mobbed and barbarously murdered, the villagers and the prisoner Kullunder Khan in particular, actually refused assistance, and the companion of the murdered horseman was compelled to throw the corpse across his horse and thus bring it into the Pahlunpore Districts ; without therefore previous acquaintance, and a friendly feeling neither Kullunder Khan nor his brother would have paid the slightest attention to the wishes of the Ressaldar, who ought to have been regarded as an enemy, and treated as all Pahlunpore subjects have of late been treated. Moreover, I am at a loss to understand, why the Ressaldar should prefer to have dealings with a man of Kullunder Khan[']s character, and thus run the risk of becoming the owner of animals which may eventually prove to have been stolen, rather, than apply to the Pahlunpore neighbouring villages where he might have procured as many as he liked.

E* 10. The Desposition* of Dost Mahomed half share holder of Wachole, shews however that there is not a word of truth in the version of this affair rendered by Kullunder Khan, he states, that Kullunder Khan came and paid him a visit at Wachole, and afterwards went to the Ressalah Lines to see the Ressaldar, and that on his leaving the village he, Dost Mahomed asked Kullunder Khan if he had seen the Ressaldar, who replied in the affirmative, and that he had been commissioned to purchase two camels for him.

11. If there was nothing to conceal, why should the Duffadar deny the intimacy which existed between the prisoner and the men of the Ressalah. Kullunder Khan was present at the Feast at Bhartram, an invited guest of the Ressalah ; the Duffadar is present also, but does not see Kullunder Khan there. If nothing passed to make it desirable to conceal that Kullunder Khan was present, why did the Duffadar deny the fact, for, he could not have been unaware of the presence of a stranger there, he having once before seen him at Wachole ; again, if seditious words had not been spoken by Kullunder Khan, why should he at first have denied everything, for it was an honour to him, a disgraced man, to be received on friendly terms by men in our service, and to be invited to partake of their hospitality ; so far therefore from denying the acquaintance,

he ought to have been proud of it ; if, there was nothing in the intimacy involving danger to himself. These denials, and subsequent unwilling admissions, tend to strengthen the statements of the Subadar, by shewing that there was something wrong, which was advisable to conceal from us.

12. The paper marked /F/ is the deposition of Subadar Shere Sha, who was re-examined in consequence of Duffadar Mulluk Goolab having denied seeing Kullunder Khan at the village of Bhartram, the Subadar reiterates his former statement, and mentions the names of certain native Officers who were present. I have made no enquiries from the Jemedar, and Naib Ressaldar of the Goozerat Irregular Horse, nor are they aware of their names having been mentioned, nor is the nature of this deposition known to the Ressalah ; they only know what the Duffadar may have communicated to them, viz., that seditious words were spoken in their presence.

13. The Evidence of Bhao Deen Khan Jemedar of the Ahmedabad Police Levy, I requested Capt. Hayward⁵¹ to take and to forward him to me if he deemed it necessary ; his deposition will be noticed in another part of this Report.

14. The Subadar in this deposition enters more fully into the accusations he had brought against the prisoner Kullunder Khan and against the Ressalah, for listening, and according to his statement, approving, and expressing their willingness to join the rebels. If his statement is to be relied upon, the men are thoroughly untrustworthy ; but until corroborated by other evidence, it must be open to suspicion, for this conversation is alleged to have taken place as far back as April last, and to have been of such a seditious and disrespectful nature, that the Subadar was unable to keep silence, he reproved the prisoner, and was supported he says by Jemedar Eliha Bux of the Goozerat Irregular Horse. Had he at the time reported the language to Captain Hayward, or to Capt. Black⁵², then in charge, the case would have been very different ; instead of following this course, he keeps the matter a secret, and divulges it only when questioned by me on the subject. I only became aware of the Subadar knowing any thing about the prisoner Kullunder Khan from a private note from Capt. Hayward. I took his deposition on the 20th Septr. the day Kullunder Khan was seized, and he could not then have been aware of the fact. In possession of the evidence furnished by Thakoor Wukht Sing of Sewarra under Marwar, a person with whom the Subadar had no acquaintance, and who is moreover ignorant of any circumstance affecting Kullunder Khan having been made known to me ; their statements leave no room to doubt, that seditious words were used by the prisoner, how far they were approved of by his hearers, depends upon the amount of credibility Govt. may accord to the Subadar's statement.

15. Amongst the persons present at Bhartram when the conversation took place, was Jemedar Bhao Deen Khan, belonging to the company of Subadar Shere Sha, this deposition is marked /G/ in the accompaniment. This person

⁵¹ *Hayward, George Frederic*—entd. 1846 ; Captain in Seventeenth Regiment N. I. 1 Dec., 1857. (*E.I.R.* 1858, p. 60).

⁵² *Black James*—entd. 1843 ; Captain Second Regt. N. I., 31st August 1857 (*E.I.R.* 1858, p. 45) Political Agent, Radhanpur (*B.G. I.*, pt. I, p. 441).

⁵³ *Erinpura*.—Cantonment in the north-east of the State of Sirohi, Rajputana, situated in 25° 9' N. and 73° 4' E. on the left of the Jawai river. (*I.G.I.*, XII, pp. 26-7).

admits accompanying the Subadar to Bhartram to hear the Fatiah read, and eat there, after which he went to Hajee Bhaee[']s place, a Subadar of the Ahmedabad Police lately sent back to Ahmedabad for supporting his men in their claim to Batta, when required to march upon Erinpooora⁵³ to re-inforce that Station. The Jemedar states that he did not hear any words spoken by Kullunder Khan but on being sent for, from Hajee Bhaee's place by the Subadar to accompany him on his return to Wachole, he saw his face inflamed with anger, and on asking the cause, learnt, that the change in his countenance was occasioned by the language used by Kullunder Khan.

16. In the deposition however before Capt. Hayward marked /H/ taken previously, he deposed very differently, and made no mention of Kullunder Khan having used seditious expressions, admits, having gone to Bhartram, and eating there, and also saw Kullunder Khan there, but knows nothing more, and states with regard to the Camels, that the Ressaldar had told him he had purchased them from Jemedar Molina, (a Scindee Jemedar in the employ of Pahlunpore).

17. In forwarding this deposition, Capt. Hayward considered his manner to be so unsatisfactory, that he was satisfied he had been tampered with, and unless more explicit before me, purposed dismissing him from the service. Copy of this letter accompanies the deposition marked /K/.

18. On being required to account for the difference between the two depositions, the Jemedar Bhaoo Deen explained that the fact relating to the face of the Subadar being inflamed with anger, in consequence of the seditious language used by Kullunder Khan, was stated by him at the instigation of the Subadar, who threatened to report him unfit for the service. He deposed to the Subadar not being on speaking terms with the Ressaldar in consequence of a quarrel about a Banyan which occurred in the Rains, and I think meant to infer therefrom, that vindictive motives have prompted the accusation.

19. The Subadar being confronted with the Jemedar denied having used any improper influence, but admits having advised him to state the truth, and conceal nothing, admits words having passed between himself and the Ressaldar, regarding a Banyan, which was settled by two Banyans being allotted to his men and two to his Ressalah, denies the existence of any enmity between him and the Ressaldar.

20. Jemedar Bhaoo Deen Khan on being confronted with the Subadar Shere Sha maintains his statement that he was instigated by the Subadar to depose to his, the Subadar[']s face, having become inflamed from anger in consequence of Kullunder Khan[']s language.

21. The Subadar retorts on the Jemedar that he is on friendly terms with the Ressaldar, and bought a Tattoo from Kullunder Khan.

22. The Jemedar has proved his own unworthiness by the different statements he has made. It was Evident that he was more favorably disposed towards the Ressalah and Kullunder Khan than towards the Subadar, and once alluded to the difficulty he, a man of this country, had to get on with the Velautees. His manner excited the Suspicions of Capt. Hayward that he had been tampered with, and as his first deposition was not taken by Capt. Hayward until after the Duffadar had returned to Wachole and communicated what had

taken place, it is not unlikely as he was present at the feast. If any improper language had been used, he may have been advised not to know anything about it, the remarks made with reference to the Duffadar[']s conduct are equally applicable to this person, for if there was nothing to conceal, there was no necessity for the exhibition of such excessive caution in answering a few simple questions, as alluded to by Capt. Hayward, but having made two opposite statements, and thereby shewn how easily he could be tampered with, when his own interests were concerned, his evidence either way cannot be received. With regard to the Subadar[']s conduct in this matter, I think he did endeavour to influence the Jemedar, but whether to extract the truth knowing the character of the man, and his bias towards the Ressalah, or to distort his evidence to their detriment, I cannot in the absence of more testimony decide.

23. Subadar Shere Sha is a Syud⁵⁴ of Peshawur, and certainly possesses the frank manner, and bold bearing of an Affghan, but as a Mahomedan, I do not see why he should be more loyally desposed towards us than other Musslemen; from his own shewing, he knew Kullunder Khan to be an enemy of ours as far back as April last, without making known the circumstance to us; he explains this by saying that his unsupported word would not be credited against the united denial of the whole Ressalah. And he speaks truly in this respect, for it certainly would not have been received; and therefore this statement is worthy of some consideration. He may perhaps have thought that it was better to await the turn of events before committing himself, and incurring the enmity of men who if they had the upper hand would not fail to remember his treachery towards them. The defeat and dispersion of the rebel army no doubt satisfied him that our power was as strong as ever & probably determined the course he should pursue and therefore when questioned, he made no hesitation to divulge all he knew of Kullunder Khan. I do not in the slightest degree doubt the guilt of Kullunder Khan for I believe him to have been a very dangerous man, and that his ill feelings towards us have been greatly increased in consequence of the difficulties he has been put to since his discharge to obtain a livelihood. He appeared to be well aware of the punishments inflicted on various Chiefs for aiding the rebels, and spoke of his own Chief, the Nawab of Juggur⁵⁵ having been hung for complicity, neither this knowledge, nor his association with men engaged in setting the laws at defiance, have tended to improve his feelings towards us. He is a man of arrogant and boasting disposition; and from the deposition of Thakoor Wukht Sing and others, his object in seeking the acquaintance of the Rissalah was to detach them from our allegiance. Even if there was nothing against his loyalty, I cannot understand how a servant of the Wurgam Thakoor, a notorious enemy of Pahlunpore, [Palanpur] and harbourer of the outlaws, could have been permitted to visit, and be intimate with the men of the Ressalah, including the Ressaldar himself.

⁵⁴ *Said, Savid, Saiyid*.—A lord, chief, a designation assumed by a member of Mohammedans who pretend to be descended from Husain, the son of Ali, and Grand-son of Mohammad (Wilson, p. 725).

⁵⁵ *Jhaijar*.—Head-quarters of the tâhsil of the same name in Rohtak District, Punjab, situated in 28° 36' N. and 76° 40' E., South of Rohtak town and West of Delhi. The estate of the ruling Nawab Abdur Rahman Khan was confiscated in 1857 owing to his disloyalty. He was hanged for his share in the Mutiny. (IGI. XIV, p. 108).

24. I have not taken the deposition of Khan Mahomed a seapoy in the Ahemadabad Police ; his original deposition taken before Capt. Hayward is with the accompaniment marked /I/ and will satisfy Govt. that no truth is to be elicited from such a character.

25. The paper marked /L/ is the deposition of Natha Mehta in the employ of the Dewan of Pahlunpore, and in charge of the Pantawarra Talookha, [Taluka], deposing to a conversation which took place between him and Duffadar Mahomed Khan of the Goozerat Irregular Horse at Bapla, according to the Mehta's statement, the meeting was accidental, and the conversation arose out of a question proposed by the Mehta, as to what would be the result of the rebel forces coming in this direction, the Duffadar is reported to have said that where the Kilmah was, there he should be in other words, he would join the Musslemen in the rebel army, if successful, and that it was a matter of no consequence to him, which side was victorious. The Mehta did not mention the circumstance, because the rebels never came here, & he referred to Dost Mahomed the half owner of Wachole as likely to know something about the Ressalah but when questioned, nothing could be elicited from him beyond the purchasing of the camels from Kullunder Khan, and his having seen that person occasionally at Wachole.

26. The last paper sent marked M & N & O is the private statement of the parties mentioned in the margin made before the Sheristadar or head Carcoo of this office, with the Report of Runchore Mehta. On Thakoor Wukht Sing reappearing at Pahlunpoor, and making the statement which I forwarded in my letter No. 124, of 21st Sept. last, I told the Sheristadar of this agency, to find out quietly whether the alleged intimacy with the Ressalah was correct or not ; at that time I was not aware of the conversation which had taken place at Wachole in April last, and only knew, Kullunder Khan to be a dangerous man. The Carcoo in the employ of the Ressalah, was a Deccanee Brahmin of the same caste as the Sheristadar, and an acquaintance of his, he was written to, but no answer was returned ; shortly afterwards the Carcoo Gunput Ram, came to Pahlunpore En route to Ahmedabad, and in a private conversation with the Sheristadar, mentioned what appears in the statement marked /M/ shewing, that intimacy did exist, and that the Ressaldar was in the habit of having private interview with Kullunder Khan who was constantly alluding to the rebel force 30 or 40,000 strong coming in this direction.

27. The second statement is that of /N/ Jugjiwan, a Sowar in the Ressalah who accompanied the Carcoo to Ahmedabad & also a private communication to the Sheristadar, to the purport, that the loyalty of the Musslemen portion of the Ressalah could not have been depended upon, if he rebels had not been defeated, and had come in this direction.

28. Thinking it likely that this Sowar might know more than he had divulged I despatched the Kunkreye Mehta Runchore, a very intelligent Police Officer, to Wachole to Jagjiwan, who was one of his caste, to question him on this

subject. To prevent suspicion the Mehta went as a Brahmin proceeding on pilgrimage to Aboo ; he could elicit nothing more from the Sowar, who was unwilling to incur the enmity of the Mahomedans by betraying them, and refused to give evidence, saying, that however true, he was one against many, who for their own sakes would deny it and the result would be, that he would be disbelieved and lose his bread, as after such an accusation, he could not remain amongst Men whom he had tried to injure, and who would not fail to revenge themselves on the first occasion.

marked O 29. The Carcoo Runchare suggests, that Duffadar Raghoba, a Maratha who appears to have been sent for in consequence of a letter received from the Commanding Officer of the Ressalah requiring information as to their proceedings regarding Kullunder Khan, should be sent for, and interrogated, and as he had stated before the Sowar Jugjiwan, that if questioned, he would state all he knew, something might be elicited but the officer making the enquiry, should carefully avoid shewing anger or disbelief, as such would he sure to defeat the object in view and lead the Duffadar to imagine that his disclosures would be unacceptable.

30. I can have no doubt of the guilt of Kullunder Khan, that he used words tending to shake the confidence of his hearers, the Sowars of the Ressalah, in the stability of our power in India.

31. How far the Ressalah may have been infected and their loyalty shaken, as no overt act has occurred cannot without additional evidence be fully determined, but the evidence of Natha Mehta, of Gunput Ram, and of Jugjiwan Sowar, (if the private statement of these men can be received as evidence) having scarcely any acquaintance with each other, and of different castes, and occupations, certainly support the assertions of Subadar Shere Sha that the men of the Ressalah are not to be depended upon ; the contradictory statement of the prisoner Kullunder Khan, together with the caution displayed by Duffadar Mulluk Goolab in giving his evidence, and his sudden departure in disobedience of my orders, shew, that there has something to conceal, and until this is cleared up, and the cause for the intimacy explained, the loyalty of the Ressalah cannot but be suspected.

P.S.—I forward this letter under a flying seal through Brigadier General Sir R. Shakespear, Kt.

No. 6.—*The Political Agent, Mahi Kanta, reports to the Political Commissioner of arrangements made for promulgating Her Majesty the Queen's Proclamation among Chiefs of Idar.*

(pp. 335—37)

No. 861 of 1858.

From

Major Whitelock,
Political Agent in the Mahee Kanta.

To

Brigr. Genl. Sir. R. Shakespear,
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

Dated Camp at Edur⁵⁶, November 4th 1858.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you that your Telegram of the 2nd Instant (night) reached me about 1/4 past 5 O'clock yesterday, afternoon, and I had intended inconvenient and mortifying as the step would have been, to have delivered over charge of the Agency duties to Captain Raikes⁵⁷ during the course of this evening, as your order appeared to brook no delay.

2. No personal considerations, I hope will ever interfere with the performance of my public duties, but having previous to the receipt of your Telegram issued invitations to all the chiefs within 20 miles of Edur, to meet me tomorrow afternoon for the purpose of promulgating before them the proclamation of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, having called in the Troops, and made other arrangements to produce the greatest possible effect I deemed that my taking the lead ex-Officio must have had a very bad impression, and to go away after the invitation had been issued in my own name, even if carriage had been procurable was impossible.

3. Your letter of the 3rd Instant, No. 1350 has greatly relieved my mind, as I do not infer from it that you will conceive otherwise than that I have acted rightly and will approve of my proceeding, in deferring the transfer of my charge, until after the reading of the Proclamation tomorrow, in order to celebrate in Officio so auspicious an event, and, especially, as I have already informed Captain Raikes that he is at perfect liberty now to communicate freely with the Edur Raja on Mondetti affairs, the latter having been made acquainted with my immediate departure.

⁵⁶ Idar.—Principal Rajput State of the Mahi Kantha Agency of former Bombay Precey. lying between 23° 6' and 24° 29' N. and 72° 45' and 73° 39' E. (I.G.I., XIII, p. 325).

⁵⁷ Raikes, Stanley Napier.—entd. 1840; Capt. 18th Regt. N.I., 23rd September 1847; Astt. Pol. Agt. Cutch. (E.I.R., 1858, pp. 61, 73, 77).

(21)

No. 7.—Major Whitelock reports desire of Thakore of Mehdasun to serve the British and keep a check on Bheels near Shamlaji and acquaints the Government with Thakor's misconduct and unsatisfactory proceedings.

No. 834.

(pp. 343—45).

From

Major Whitelock,
Political Agent in the Mahee Kanta.

To

H. L. Anderson Esq.,
Secretary to Government
Bombay.

Dated Camp at Edur, October 29th 1858.

Sir,

With reference to my letter, No. 748 dated 4th Instant, to the address of the Political Commissioner, and to my telegram of the 21st Idem to yourself, I have the honor to submit the translated substance^{57a} of two petitions dated 26th Instant from the Thakore of Mehdesun.

2. I have, I beg to state, had several interviews with this Chief, but I am afraid that not much reliance can be placed upon his present professions, he is here with a great number of attendants, among whom are several Mukranees⁵⁸, and he has encamped a long way off close to some jungle as if he suspected that an attempt would be made to arrest him, and indeed his proceedings are so unsatisfactory, that had he not been here at my special invitation, I should have felt inclined to call upon him to furnish security for his conduct, but that step could not be taken now without a breach of good faith on my part, and he had better a hundred times ever go into Bahirwuttia than that I should do anything by which the character of the Government would be compromised.

3. The Thakore is, like Sooruj Mull, irretrievably involved, and he is most anxious to obtain service. He proposed that he should be stationed in the direction of Samlajee⁵⁹ to keep the Bheels in order, but if he could be transferred without inconvenience to Jodhpur, his services there would, I imagine, be most acceptable to Tukht Singh.⁶⁰

^{57a} *Vide P. D. Vol. No. 64 of 1858, pp. 347-49.*

⁵⁸ *Makranees*.—Musalman tribe in Ali Rajpur, Central India and Sind. (*I.G.I.* V, p. 225; VIII, p. 305; XXII, p. 406).

⁵⁹ *Samlaji or Shamalaji*.—It is situated on the border of Mahi Kantha and Meywar, the head-quarters of an Idar police post. It is surrounded by the hills, on the banks of the Meshwa. (*B.G.*, V, p. 440).

⁶⁰ *Takht Singh*.—Chief of Ahmadnagar, and afterwards Maharaja of Jodhpur (1843-73). He was a Rajput of the Rathor clan and of the Joda family. He helped the Britishers during the Mutiny, but the affairs of Marwar fell into the utmost confusion owing to his misrule, and the Crown Government interfered in 1868. (*I.G.I.* V, p. 126; XIII, p. 326; XIV, p. 187).

4. The Thakore informed one of my Carkoons that he had increased his followers (50 Mekranees and 15 Kusbatees the carkoon declared) in consequence of the Government wishing to deprive him of his honor by disarming his villages; but one cause of his discontent is, I believe, against the Raja of Edur, who had taken the part of his eldest son against him, and thereby created a great deal of ill-feeling, and although the Thakore now assures me that their quarrels has been arranged, I do not credit his sincerity in saying that he is satisfied with the settlement.

5. I shall forward this letter under a flying seal for the information of the Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

No. 8.—The Political Commissioner authorizes Whitelock to employ in his service the swars from Thakore of Mehdasun.

No. 1340 of 1858.

(pp. 351—53).

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir Shakespear, Kt.,
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

To

Major C. R. Whitelock,
Political Agent Mhye Kantha.

Dated Baroda, 1st November 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor, to inform you, that your letter, to the Secretary to Government No. 834 of 29th ultimo, has to day reached me.

2. I have been asked by General Napier⁶¹ to entertain a body of Horse, for service in Scindiah's country.

3. If the Thakore of Mehdasun really wishes to take service with the British Government, and has horses, men, and arms, fit for the service, I hereby authorize you to entertain not only 50, but 100 Sowars, at Rupees Company's (25) Twenty-five, per mensem each sowar, on the following conditions,

1st. They are to serve in any part of Hindostan.

2nd. They are to present themselves, before Lieutenant Bonner⁶² at Dohud by the 1st of December next.

4. General Napier has not told me the pay of the Native Officers, but I will undertake that they shall be equal to that of Irregular Cavalry Corps in the service.

5. If you think that in the Province of Mhye Kanta four hundred Sowars, with Native Officers could be entertained on the above terms, I authorize Lieutenant Le Geyt⁶³ being employed to raise the Regiment.

⁶¹ Napier George.—entd. 1847; First Lieutenant of Horse Brigade, 3rd Battalion, 20th January 1853 (E.I.R., 1858, p. 30).

⁶² Bonnor, Richard Maurice.—entd. 1846; Lieutenant Seventh Regt. N. I. 17th November 1852. (Ibid., p. 50).

⁶³ Le Geyt Philip Harrison.—entd. 1851; Lt. in Third Regt. Light Cavalry, Gujarat Irregular Horse, 3rd October 1856, Adjutant 21st July 1857. (Ibid., pp. 37, 73).

6. I can well understand that the indebtedness of the Thakore of Mehdasun and other Rajpoots may, render them most anxious for employment, also that their wants may instead of being a source of danger to us, prove a very sensible and substantial source of strength.

7. You of course understand that in dealing with such characters as the Thakore of Mehdasun, it is absolutely necessary, before giving money that security should be taken, but if security can be produced before you for the attendance of such Sowars as may be passed, under the above conditions into the service, I hereby authorize you to grant on the above mentioned security, One month's pay in advance to each Sowar.

No. 9.—*The Political Commissioner reports to Govt. of the assistance given by Thakore of Samera to Capt. Muter of the 2nd Grenadiers.*

No. 1393 of 1858.

(pp. 357—58).

From

Brig. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner Guzerat

To

H. L. Anderson Esquire,
Secretary to Government,
Bombay.

Dated Baroda, 12th November 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to forward for the information of the Right Honble the Governor in Council, copy of Major Whitelock's letter, No. 869^{63a} of date 5th Instant, together with its enclosure relative to the assistance rendered to Captain Muter⁶⁴, of the 2nd Grenadiers when on detachment duty in the Mhye Kanta by the Thakore of Samera⁶⁵ and my reply to the same No. 1392 of this date, which I trust will meet with the approval of the Bombay Government.

2. I hope you will obtain orders as to my suggestion of a present being given to the Thakore.

^{63a} *Vide P. D. Vol. No. 64 of 1858, pp. 359-63.*

⁶⁴ *Muter, St. John O'Neill.—entd. 1841; Capt. in Second, or Grenadier Regt. N. I., 12th May, 1851. (E.I.R., p. 45).*

Genl. Roberts arrested Capt. Muter at Ahemadabad for not having the password and then released the sentry. This incident intensified the ill-feeling between the two regiments and prevented their combination when the Grenadiers mutinied a few days after this incident. (B.G., Vol. I, pt. I, p. 440).

⁶⁵ *Samera.—Thakurat in the Idar Taluka of the Nanee Marwar Zilla of the former Mahi Kantha Agency. The Thakur by name Becherjee, of the age 28 years, belonging to the Jadeja caste, paid tribute to the Gaikwar. (S.R.B.G. XII, pp. 84-5).*

No. 10.—*The Political Commissioner conveys to Poll Agt. Mahi Kanta Government's appreciation for the good conduct of the Samera Thakore and requests him to recommend some present for the Thakore.*

No. 1392 of 1858.

(pp. 365—66).

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

To

Captain S. N. Raikes,
Offg. Political Agent,
Mhye Kaunta.

Dated Baroda 12th November 1858.

Sir,

With reference to Major Whitelock's letter No. 869 of 5th Instant, I have the honor to state that I think it would be good policy to show in some marked manner, that the Government appreciates the good conduct of the Thakore of Samera, as shown in Captain Muter's letter, of date 3rd Instant.

2. I should feel disposed to write to him myself, but I doubt whether my doing so, might not be misunderstood by the Raja of Edur [Idar] whose feudatory he appears to be, but if no objection exists, I beg you will prepare a paper for my signature for the Thakore.

3. I am inclined to think the Government would like to make him some present, and beg you will let me know what you would recommend.

No. 11.—*The Political Commissioner reports that release has been ordered of the prisoner Kullunder Khan who had been arrested on the charge of using seditious language in the Ressalah.*

No. 1432 of 1858.

(pp. 383—84).

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

To

H. L. Anderson Esquire,
Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Dated Baroda 20th November 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that on receipt of your letter, No. 4004, of date 10th Instant, I directed Colonel Keily to release the prisoner Kullunder Khan.

2. I yesterday received Colonel Keily's reply which I forward in original.

3. It does not appear clear whether Colonel Keily's sentence is transportation for life or for ten years : But I am quite certain that neither the one nor the other would be confirmed by the Bombay Government.

4. The Charge is simply for using seditious language and so severe a punishment as even 10 years' transportation would be directly at variance with the spirit of Her Majesty's Proclamation.

5. I have therefore taken on myself to direct Colonel Keily to release the prisoner.

6. A copy of my letter, No. 1431⁶⁶ of this date to Colonel Keily is herewith forwarded, and I hope my proceedings will be approved by the Bombay Government.

No. 12.—The Government approves of measures taken by the Pol. Commr.

(Vide Resolution No. 9672 at p. 384 of the P. D. Vol.).

No. 13.—The Government approves all the offensive actions of Sir R. Shakespear against Tatya Tope.

(Vide Note No. 9565 at p. 400 of the P.D. Vol.).

No. 14.—The Baroda Resident gives instructions to Lt.-Col. R. St. John Commanding Brigade at Baroda for pursuit of Tatya Tope and asks him to prevent his march towards Baroda.

No. 1191 of 1858.

(pp. 401—05).

From

Brigadier General Sir R. Shakespear, Kt.,
Resident Baroda.

To

Brigadier R. St. John^{66a},
Commanding at Baroda.

Baroda Residency 28 November 1858.

Sir,

As requested by you I have the honor to record the instructions which I think ought to be given to the Detachments which you are about at my desire to move from Baroda to Sonkheira⁶⁷, and Waghoreia.

2. A few preliminary remarks would appear to be necessary to explain the object of sending the Detachments and the nature of the Enemy which they are expected to oppose.

⁶⁶ Vide P. D. Vol. No. 64 of 1858, p. 422.

^{66a} St. John Robert.—entd. 1821; Lt. Col. in Twenty-fifth Regt. N. I., 4th May 1850, Commandant Baroda. (E.I.R., 1858, p. 68).

⁶⁷ Sankheda.—Town in the taluka of the same name in Baroda prant in Gujarat State. situated in 22° 9' N. and 73° 37' E. on the left bank of the Orsang river. (I.G.I. XXII, p. 59).

3. It is unnecessary to review the career of the Agent of Ex-Peshwa known as "Tattia Topee" from the time when driven from Gwalior by Sir H. Rose⁶⁸, he fled before General Roberts to the border of Marwar⁶⁹ and then by a sudden turn to the East succeeded in avoiding the Neemuch and Oodeypoor Detachments and occupied a commanding position at Jalra-Puttun⁷⁰.

4. The Career of this disturber of the peace is so well-known that it is unnecessary to enter minutely into details, but it appears very necessary to reflect that his halt at Jalra Putton, enabled him instead of being as he was before a broken fugitive, to appear in the character of a *conqueror*.

5. He has subsequently sustained five separate defeats and after advancing nearly as far North as Jhansie he has by a retrograde movement appeared in a very threatening attitude on the very frontier of Kandeish [Khandesh].

6. We have today heard that he has been defeated by Major Sutherland⁷¹, who is pursuing him to the Nerbudda. He is making for Burrownee⁷² and from that place a road leads through Aly Rajpoor⁷³ and Chota Oodeypoor into the Baroda Country.

7. If we remained quiet here this man might by plundering Dubhooee⁷⁴ run again the same course that he so successfully pursued after his occupation of Jalra Puttun.

⁶⁸ Rose Hugh.—entd. 1842 : Lieut, Third Regt. N. I., Bengal, 1st April 1847, Capt. 2nd Dec. 1856 ; Pub. Works Dept. (*E.I.R.* 1858, pp. 57, 108). On May 30th 1858, Morar cantonment in Gwalior State was occupied by the troops of Tatya Tope, the Nawab of Banda and the Rani of Jhansi, who forced Scindhia to vacate Lashkar and retreat to Agra. On June 16th Sir Hugh Rose (afterwards Lord Strathnairn) drove Tatya Tope out of Morar and on 20th June, 1858 reinstated Sindhia in his Capital. (*I.G.I. XVIII*, p. 1).

⁶⁹ Details of the pursuits of Tatya Tope to the river Banas in Gujarat are given in T. Rice Holmes' *History of the Indian Mutiny*, P. 542.

⁷⁰ *Jhairapatan*.—Head-quarters of the Patan tahsil and the commercial capital of the State of Jhalwar, Rajputana, situated in 24° 32'N. and 76° 70'E. on the left. (*I.G.I. XVI*, p. 123).

⁷¹ *Sutherland John*.—He was appointed as Agt. to Govr. Genl. in Rajputana (1841)—(*I.G.I. XXI*, p. 142).

⁷² *Barwani*.—Formerly capital of a guaranteed chieftship of the same name in Central India, under, Bhopawar Agency, situated in 22° 2'N. and 74° 54'E. on the left bank of the Narbada river. (*I.G.I. VII*, pp. 90-3).

⁷³ *Ali Rajpur*.—Formerly a guaranteed chieftship in Central India, under the Bhopawar Agency, lying between 22° 0' and 22° 34'N. and 74° 18' and 74° 34'E. It is situated in Rath division of Malwa, and was formerly known as Ali, or Ali-Mohan, from two forts, Ali and Mohan, of which the latter is now in Chota Udepur. (*I.G.I. V*, p. 223).

⁷⁴ *Dabhoi*.—Town in the Baroda prant of the former Baroda State, situated in 22° 8'N and 73° 28'E. It is one of the most interesting towns in the Gujarat. (*I.G.I. XI*, p. 99).

It is to obviate the possibility of such a misfortune that I have desired you to move the detachments above referred to.

8. The Durbar will occupy Jerode⁷⁵ and if you will move detachments to Sankhera and Waghoria⁷⁶, it is impossible that Tateea's followers can have time and opportunity to again form head such as will give us trouble.

9. They should be attacked with vigour immediately they emerge from the Jungle which lies between Sankheira and the Nerbudda. If they are allowed to occupy even for a day or two, any place of note such as Sankheira or Dubhooee, they may still give us trouble but it appears impossible to imagine how after the disasters they have gone through and the vast extent of deadly jungle, that spreads between the Gaikwar territories and the Nerbudda this force of broken Cavalry can again make head, if we act with becoming energy.

We are bound therefore to meet them on the frontiers of the Territory and attack them with vigor whenever they appear.

10. Our resources are very small and if we remained at Baroda and allowed this active and enterprizing enemy to recover from his disaster by occupying the large Towns on the frontier, it is quite possible that he might gain sufficient power and influence to shake the Gaekwar from his Throne before reinforcements could reach us from Bombay.

11. But if on the contrary we act on the offensive and take the full benefit of the disaster which our enemy is now suffering under, we may confidently hope to give the death blow to this Disturber of the peace should he enter this province.

12. I have the honor to request that you will march a detachment of two guns of X Royal Battery and 200 Native Infantry via Dubhooee towards Sankheira and hold a similar detachment ready to proceed to Waghoreea.

The Durbar will give a hundred Cavalry with each of these Detachments.

13. The orders should I conceive be to act boldly on the offensive.

Commanding Officers should be told that the enemy is broken and the object is to prevent his rallying.

It will be very sad indeed if the broken enemy is allowed to form head in the Baroda territory.

P.S.—You can move the Waghoreea Detacht. whenever you like, and it is for you to decide whether the two Detachments should act separately or under the control of one officer.

I can only as Resident lay down general rules for your guidance.

⁷⁵ *Jarod*.—Sub-division of the former Baroda State. (B.G., VII, p. 536).

⁷⁶ *Vaghodia*.—Head-Quarters of the Taluka of the same name in Baroda District. It is also a Railway Station on Western Railway. (D.C.H. Baroda, pp. 400-3).

No. 15.—*The Baroda Resident gives further instructions to Lt.-Col. R. St. John, regarding measures against Tatya Tope.*

No. 1192.

(pp. 407—08).

From

Brigadier General Sir. R. C. Shakespear,
Resident at Baroda.

To

Brigadier St. John,
Commanding at Baroda.

Baroda 29th November 1858.

Sir,

I shall feel obliged by your informing me if Lieutenant Browne⁷⁷ has been ordered to proceed to Dohud : if not pray direct him to go as quick as he can.

2. I find after going carefully over dates and distances that Tantia may be at Ali Rajpore to day.

3. The probability is that he will there pick up some guns and entertain Mekranees, for the place is a perfect nest and stronghold of those rascals.

4. The chances are that he will make a long halt at Ali Rajpoor and start from it again almost as strong as from Jalra Puttun.

5. He will have the choice of two roads one by Chota Oodeypore⁷⁸ and Sankhera to Baroda and one by Jabooa⁷⁹ to Dohud.

6. If he halts at Ali Rajpore any time we may get reinforcements from Bombay and Ahmedabad and shall be secure enough.

7. But we are not justified in depending on his halting at Ali Rajpore and if he comes straight on from that place he may be at Sankhera on the 1st and also on the same day at Dohud.

8. Pray order Captain Collier⁸⁰ to be *without fail* at Sonkhera by the 1st at least and if possible by the 30th, and hold the Waghoria Detachment ready to move at a moment's notice.

⁷⁷ Browne, Alexander Anthony Pueston.—entd. 1846; Lt. Twelfth Regt. N. I. 6th October 1852. (E.I.R., 1858, p. 55).

⁷⁸ Chota Udepur.—State in the Political Agency of Rewa Kantha of former Bombay Precey., lying between 22° 2' and 22° 32' N. and 73° 47' and 74° 20' E, now a Taluka place Baroda Dist. Gujarat State. (I.G.I. X, p. 330).

⁷⁹ Jhabua.—A guaranteed chiefship under the Bhopawar Agency, Central India. lying between 22° 28' and 23° 14' N. and 74° 20' and 75° 19' E. (Ibid, XIV, pp. 104-5).

⁸⁰ Captain Collier James Alphonse.—Military Officer of the British, later on Poll Agt. Rewa Kantha. He was employed in Seventh Regt. N. I. Stationed at Ahemadabad, arrived in April, 1857. Season of App'tt.—1842, Army Rank—21st June 1856. (E.I.R. 1858, p. 50).

No. 16.—The Government approves of measures taken by Sir R. Shakespear against Tatya Tope and informs of despatch of a large British force to Tarkaria.

No. 4097 A of 1958.

(pp. 411—14).

To

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear,
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

Sir,

I am directed by the R. H. G. C. to acknowledge the receipt of your letters⁸¹ Nos. 1481 and 1494 dated respectively the 29th and 30th ultimo, the former enclosing copies of two communications to Brigr. R. St. John relative to the course which should be pursued at Baroda in the event of its being menaced by the rebels under Tantee Topee.

2. In reply I am desired to inform you that the R. H. G. C. entirely and cordially approves of all that you have done and directed to be done in furtherance of the above object. There can be no doubt, His Lordship in Council observes, that the true policy in this country is always to take the offensive and never to show hesitation or doubt of the result.

3. With reference to your telegrams of the 27th and 28th ultimo I am desired to state that owing to an interruption in the telegraph line they were not received until the 29th on which day His Lordship replied to you as follows :

“Your messages of the 27th and 28th only reached me to-day with those of the 29th. I have just heard from Sir R. Hamilton^{81a} that Tantia Topey and the rebels have crossed the Nerbudda near Chikulda⁸², and are moving towards Amjheera⁸³. I have requested Sir Henry Somerset⁸⁴ to send the remaining wing of the 33rd to Bombay to be shipped for Tankaira⁸⁵”.

4. Referring to your letter of the 30th ultimo. I am desired to observe that His Lordship's message does not appear to have reached you when you had written on that day.

⁸¹ *Vide P. D. Vol. No. 64 of 1858, pp. 395-99, 409-10.*

^{81a} *Hamilton Sir Robert*.—In 1854 the Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand districts were added to Malwa, and the whole Agency so formed was placed under Sir R. Hamilton, at that time Resident at Indore, as Agent to the Governor-General for Central India. He was also a Resident at Holkar's Court (1844-54). He was styled as the Agent to the Governor-General. (*I.G.I.*, IX, pp. 343, 376).

⁸² *Chikalda*.—Sanitorium in the Malghat Taluka, Amrooti District, Berar, in Central Provinces, situated in 21° 24' N. and 77° 22' E. on a plateau in the Satpura Hills, near Ellichpur. (*Ibid.* X, p. 220).

⁸³ *Amjhera*.—Head-quarters of the District of the same name in Gwalior, Central India, situated in 22° 34' N. and 75° 8' E. near Dhar. (*Ibid.* V, p. 305).

⁸⁴ *Lt. Genl. Sir Henry Somerset K. C. B.*.—Commander-in-Chief, Member of the Bombay Council, assumed command on 26th March 1855. (*E.I.R.*, 1858, pp. 3, 13).

⁸⁵ *Tankari*.—A port in the district of Broach, is situated on the east side of a small creek, which for about five miles strikes northward from the right bank of the Dhadhar about seven miles from the mouth of that river. Though difficult of approach, the creek on which it stands being, even for the smaller country craft, unnavigable, except at high tide, Tankari was once the port, for a considerable tract of the country, for the opium of Malwa as well for the cotton and grain of Jambusar and A'mod. (B.G. II. p. 569).

5. The R. H. G. C. was not aware when he telegraphed to you on the 1st instant stating H M 57th had already been despatched to Khandesh, that H. M. 31st Regt. had on that day arrived from the Cape. He accordingly again urged the immediate despatch of the wing H. M.'s 33rd as the readiest way of meeting your pressing demands at Baroda.

6. I am now desired to state that it has this morning been intimated to Government that the wing H. M. 33rd (550 strong) quitted Poona by rail last night, and it is hoped are already embarked for Tankaira. In addition to this wing a large detachment of European recruits (about 300 in number) will proceed to Tankaira at the same time. A company of Royal Horse Artillery (Captain Cleveland's) with Battery and Horses complete are ready to follow.

Matheran, 3rd December 1858.

No. 17.—*The Bombay Government pardons and sets free all Koli Thakurdars intimating them that they owe their freedom to the Crown's clemency.*

No. 4258 of 1858, (pp. 423-24).

To

Lieutenant Colonel J. R. Keily,
Political Superintendent of Pahlunpoor.

Secret Department.

Sir,

I am directed by the R. H. G. C. to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1350 dated the 23rd November last, requesting to be informed whether Samadee* and other Coolee (Koli) Thakurdars accused of having assembled to plunder the Deesa Camp in November 1857 should not be allowed the benefit of Her Majesty's Proclamation and forgiven their offences.

2. In reply, I am desired to inform you that in accordance with the terms of the Proclamation these men should not be brought to trial, but under the instructions contained in my circular letter No. 4197 of the 30th ultimo they should be set at liberty with an intimation that they owe their freedom to Her Majesty's clemency.

3. These men should also be furnished with certificates of pardon as in the case of mutineers and deserters agreeably to the instructions contained in Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's letter No. 519 dated the 5th idem of which a copy accompanied my Circular above referred to.

B. C. 6th Dec. 1858.

No. 18.—*Brigadier William Parke reports of his pursuit of Tatya Tope and requests assistance.*

No. 76 (p. 433).

Camp Naupoor,
November 29th 1858.

Sir,

1. The Rebel force under Tantia Topee is reported as having been at Rajpoor En route to Oodeypoor yesterday 28th.

* Samadi.—A village, 8 miles from Pani Mines Railway Station in Jabugam Taluka, District Baroda, Gujarat. (D.C.H. Baroda, pp. 246-49).

2. I continue the pursuit as soon as my men and horse are somewhat rested.
3. Tantia Topee's march is of extraordinary rapidity ; He plunders all Horses and ponies En route.
4. I sent you an express yesterday via Dohud.
5. Four or five Elephants, 30 or 40 camels (for transport) and three weeks commissariat stores on camels from Baroda would be the greatest assistance (for 260 Europeans). Owing to the forced marches this Brigade has been making we are sadly in want of the above.
6. Major General Michel⁷⁷ was at Gissore on 24th, where he is now, I know not.

(Sd.) WILLIAM PARKE,
Brigadier, 2nd Brig. R. F. F.

To

Brigadier General Sir Richmond Shakespear Kt.,
Baroda.

No. 19.—*The Brigadier asks for more assistance.*

(p. 434).

P. S.

Ten Pairs of Draught Bullocks I omitted to mention as wanted, of course a few more camels & elephants state the number named would be most acceptable.

(Sd.) WILLIAM PARKE,

No. 20.—*The Officiating Assistant Resident, Baroda informs Government about Tatya Tope's activities and measures adopted against rebels.*

No. 1518.

(pp. 441-49).

From

J. P. Stratton Esqre.
Offg. Asst. Resident
for Brigr. Genl. Sir. R. C. Shakespear,
Politl. Commr. in Guzerat,
and Resident at Baroda.

To

H. L. Anderson, Esqre.
Secty to Govt.
Pol. Dept., Bombay.

Baroda, 2nd December 1858.

Sir,

Sir Richmond Shakespear accompanied by Captain Wilson⁷⁸, Assisstt. Politl. Commr. having this forenoon proceeded to the outskirts of Baroda to visit

⁷⁷ Lt. Col. Michell George Bruce.—Bengal Lt. Col. in corpse 28th Regt. N. I. Delhi-Mutinied, Season of Apptt.—1822, Army Rank—13th November 1854, Regt. Rank—13th November 1854. (E.I.R. 1858, pp. 64, 133).

⁷⁸ Maj. Genl. Wilson George James.—Maj. Genl., Commandant of the Northern Division, Corps.. 27th N. I. stationed in Northern Division, Season of Apptt.—1803, Date of Apptt.—16th October 1853, Army Rank—28th November 1854, Regt. Rank—28th March, 1850. Captain Wilson was posted at Jetpur for managing the unruly Naikdas. (Ibid, pp. 14, 21, 70).

several posts there established and having before he went instructed me to write in continuation of his letter to you No. 1508 of yesterday's date. I have the honor, in obedience to that ordered, now to report as follows.

2. Subsequent to the posting of yesterday's letter above referred to, news was received from the Raja of Chota Oudeypore that the Rebels had reached Dewhuttee between Ali Rajpore and Chota Oudeypore on the 29th and that they were coming to the latter place on the next day, and that he (the Raja who was out in his districts) was therefore going immediately into his Capital.

At the same time news was received through Captain Collier, Commanding the Detachment at Sonkhera that the Rebels had actually entered Oudeypore on the 30th and that the Raja was in his palace and had shut the gates of his fort on them.

The ministers this morning stated that their news led them to believe that Tantia Topee made a halt at Oudeypore and that he levied a contribution of Rupees 5,000 from Ali Rajpore, in addition to any other plunder taken of which no accounts have been received.

3. The above is the latest news here received of the position and movements of the rebels.

4. Brigadier Parke having been at Naupoor⁸⁹ on the 29th he would it may be calculated, on the 30th be at Ali Rajpore ; and on the 1st inst. at Chota Oudeypore.

The Rebels were at this last place on the 30th and appear to have halted there that day, but as yet no later intelligence of their farther Movements has been received.

5. The order to Captain Collier to advance by a forced march from Sonkhera to Jaitpore⁹⁰ as referred to in paras 2 & 3 of yesterday's letter No. 1508, was dictated by the anxiety to have a force at the last named place where the route from Oudeypore bifurcates into the two roads leading to Baroda viz. 1st via Jambooghora⁹¹ and Waghoria [Waghodia] and 2nd via Sonkhera and Dubhooee, so that the one force at Jaitpore would close both approaches ; and if this march had been effected, as had been hoped, by yesterday evening (1st inst.) the expectation (expressed in paras. 6 and 7 of yesterday's letter No. 1508), that the enemy would be found in the short distance between Oudeypore and Jaitpore—pursued from the former place by Brigadier Parke and met at the latter by Captain Collier—might possibly have met with accomplishment.

6. But Captain Collier has not been able to reach Jaitpore till this morning ; judging from a letter received from him last night.

⁸⁹ *Navapur or Nowapur*.—Place in the former Mahi Kantha Agency. The Chief of this place was Thakur Gulab Sing, Jetavat. (S.R.B.G., XII, p. 118).

⁹⁰ *Jeytpur*.—Place in the Chandernee Puta of the former Mahi Kantha Agency. The Chief of the place was Thakur Subbul Sing Chumpavut. (Ibid, p. 116).

⁹¹ *Jambughoda*.—Head-quarter of the State of the same name in the Rewa Kantha Agency, at present Taluka place in Baroda District. (B.G., VI, p. 178).

7. Of Jumbooghora, the post held on account of the Naikra⁹² outbreak, and which is on the road to Baroda between Jaitpore and Waghoria, there is no later news than of the 30th ulto ; in a demi official note of that date from Captain Bonner in reply to one from the Political Commissioner of the 28th directing him to proceed to Oudeypore, as reported to Government in para 4 of letter No. 1481 of 29th ultimo, Captain Bonner unfortunately only got the letter of the 28th on the 30th and then stated in his letter that he was going to start for Oudeypore, and was also, as directed, preparing carriage to hold in readiness for any movement.

After writing his letter Captain Bonner would doubtless hear that the Rebels were on that very day, the 30th at Oudeypore, and he would then act on the instructions conveyed to him in the same letter of 28th viz., that if he found he could not, with his Jambooghoria detachment, aiding the Raja's Troops, hold Oudeypore against the Rebels ; he was to march with his troops towards Sonkhera, join Captain Collier and place himself under that officer's orders.

8. It is fully expected therefore that Captain Bonner with the Jumbooghora force has joined Captain Collier yesterday or last night.

9. 100 Gaekwar Horse posted at Waghoria were ordered to advance yesterday from Waghoria towards Jumbooghora and Jaitpoor. It is expected that this party also will by this time have joined Captain Collier whose force would then consist of —

His own Detacht.	...	2 Guns Europeans, 200 Native Infantry. 100 Durbar Horse.
Captain Bonner's	...	150 Guzerat Bheel Corps. 50 Native Infantry. 40 Guzerat Irregular Horse.
From Waghoria	...	100 Durbar Horse.
<i>or in all</i>		2 Guns Europeans. 400 Bayonets Natives. 240 Irregular Horse.

⁹² *Naikdas*.—Aboriginal tribe in Bariya, Rewa Kantha and others. They are said to be the Mohimmanan descendants of the population of Champaner. According to another account they are the descendants of the Naiks, attendants sent by the Raja of Baglan with his daughter on her marriage with one of the Raja's of Champaner Narkot was the chief place of the residence of the Naikdas of Rewa Kantha. Many of them were in Chota Udepur.

In 1858 under the leadership of Keval Dama and Rupa Gobar, the Naikdas rose in open rebellion and were not put down till a large body of troops had acted against them for eight months. This disturbance was chiefly in Panch Mahals to which the two leaders belonged. Within Rewa Kantha there was some fighting in Udepur and Bariya, but no action of consequence except on the 18th January 1859 a night attack on Lt. Richardson's Camp. On 10th March Keval Dama, the leading outlaw surrendered to Maj. Wallace and on the 23rd May, Rupa Gobar to Capt. Hayward. (I.G.I., VII, p. 20 ; XXI, p. 294 ; B.G., Vol. I. pt. I, 445, 446 ; VI, pp. 34, 64).

10. Captain Thatcher⁹³ with a detachment of Kaira Police as per margin

1 <i>Subedar</i>	...	coming as ordered by the Political
2 <i>Jemedars</i>	...	Commissioner by forced marches to
5 <i>Havildars</i>	...	Baroda, reached Anund Mogree ⁹⁴
243 <i>Rank and file</i>	...	25 miles from this at Sunrise this
1 <i>Jemedar</i>	...	morning. He expects to reach
2 <i>Duffedars</i>	...	Baroda by 10 O'clock this evening.
25 <i>Sawars</i>	...	
9,000 Rounds of Ammunition.	...	

By a letter received this morning however from Mr. Gray⁹⁵ from Borsud there appears a possibility of the above detachment being detained by Mr. Gray objecting to let the Police leave the limits of Karia Zillah, but both Mr. Gray and Captain Thatcher have been written to by the Political Commissioner and it is hoped that this reinforcement may still reach Baroda without detention.

11. The Ahmedabad force under Captain Muter, strength as per margin is

125 Europeans.		
3 Guns Golandaz.		
200 N. I.	expected to reach Godra to day.	
60 Guzerat Irregular Horse.		

A further party of sixty sabres* under Lieutt. Le Geyt. from Edur will, it is
60 Guzerat Irregular Horse*. calculated, reach Godhra tomorrow.

A large convoy, 280, Commissariat Camels from Deesa for Malwa will be at Godra about the 8th inst. : and will be available for carriage of men or stores.

12. It is intended instantly to send an express calling in the above Godra force towards Baroda should it appear certain that the Rebels are actually coming in this direction by either the Soukhera or Waghoria roads.

13. The non-receipt of news today upto 5 O'clock this afternoon of the nearer approach of the Rebels leaves open to speculation what may be the cause of their delay in advancing, as had they really advanced, information must certainly have been received.

Supposing Brigadier Parke to have reached Oudeypore yesterday, it would seem possible that, from Oudeypore, they may have fled north or north-west

⁹³ *Lt. Thatcher, Torin.*—Brig. Maj. in the Corps.—33rd Regt. 11th N. I. stationed at Hyderabad and then Bombay and arrived in January, 1856. Season of Apppt.—1843. Date of Apppt.—3rd January, 1854, Regt. Rank—21st January, 1846. (*E.I.R.*, 1858; pp. 15, 54).

As soon as it was known that Tatya Tope crossed the Narbada, troops were put in motion from Kaira, Ahemadabad, and Disa for the protection of the eastern frontier of Gujarat : Capt. Thatcher, who had succeeded to the command of the irregular levies raised by Mr. Ashburner in Kaira, was ordered to hold Sankheda with the irregulars and two of the Gaikwar's Guns. He was afterwards reinforced by Capt. Collier's detachment of the 7th Regt., N. I., which fell back from Chota Udepur on the approach of the enemy. (*B.G.* Vol. I, pt. I, p. 444).

⁹⁴ *Anand Mogri.*—On the field of Anand Mogri, Damaji's Agent Rangoji, defeated Bande, in 1737. (*B.G.*, VII, p. 174; *Elliot*, p. 28).

⁹⁵ *Gray Alexander.*—Third Class Civil Servant, Season of Apppt.—1843. Acting Magistrate of Kaira in Gujarat. (*E.I.R.* 1858, p. 6).

by jungle and hilltracks to Barrea⁹⁶ or to Champaneer⁹⁷, and in either case the Godra detachment will be well placed.

It is also possible that the Rebel's delay at Dewhuttee and Oudeypore may have been connected with some arrangements, for contesting the passage of the pursuing column through the dense jungle between Ali Rajpore and Oudeypore.

14. The more local arrangements immediately around Baroda continue much as was reported in yesterday's letter No. 1508, with the exception that the Kapoora⁹⁸ outpost on the Sonkhera road has been strengthened by 2 more guns, withdrawn from Bapote⁹⁹ on the Waghoria Route, to which however they can at once be moved if required, the distance between the posts not being great.

15. Sir Richmond Shakespear wished to strengthen Captain Thompson's¹⁰⁰ party* at Ruttonpoor¹⁰¹ on the Sonkhera road, 2 Guns Europeans & 200 N. I. mentioned in para 9 of yesterday's letter, No. 1508, by 100 more Native Infantry, but the Brigadier expressed so earnestly his objections to denuding Camp farther of troops that it has been resolved, for the present, only to hold that number in readiness to move until at any rate the arrival of the Kaira Police detachment.

16. Sir Richmond Shakespear has this forenoon proceeded with H. H. the Gaekwar to visit Ruttonpoor and the various suburban outposts held by the Gaekwar Troops, to inspect them and generally to inspire confidence.

17. Before he left the Residency for the above purpose he desired me respectfully to express the deep distress he had felt this morning on being unable, in reply to the anxious inquiries of the Ministers, to assure them that reinforcements had actually been dispatched from Bombay no news to that effect having yet been received.

⁹⁶ *Bariya* (*Deogarh Bariya*).—Chief town of the state of the same name in the Rewa Kantha Agency, Bombay, situated in 22° 42'N and 73° 51'E., close to the river Panam and near Baroda. The chiefs of Bariya were Chauhan Rajputs. (*I.G.I.* VII, pp. 20-1).

⁹⁷ *Champaner*.—Ruined city in the Kalol taluka of the Panch Mahal District, situated in 22° 29'N. and 73° 32'E.; North of Baroda and near Pavagarh. (*Ibid* X, pp. 135-6).

⁹⁸ *Kapurai*.—A village two miles away from Pratapnagar Rly. Station in Baroda Taluka of Gujarat. (*D.C.H.* Baroda p. 150).

⁹⁹ *Baputia*.—Village in the Halol Peta of the Panch Mahals District of Gujarat. The nearest Railway Station Shivrajpur is 1½ miles away from this place. (*Ibid*, Panchmahal, pp. 204-7).

¹⁰⁰ *Captain Thompson, Edward*.—Captain in Eighth Regiment N. I., Stationed at Baroda, arrived in January 1856, Season of Apptt.—1840, Army Rank—2 September 1852. (*E.I.R.* 1858 p. 51).

¹⁰¹ *Ruttunpur*.—Thakurat in the Danta Taluka of the former Mahi Kantha Agency. It is a village near Taranga Hill Rly. Station in Danta Taluka of Banas Kantha. District of Gujarat. (*S.R.B.G.* XII, p. 131; *D.C.H.* Banaskantha, pp. 162-63).

No. 21.—*The Pol. Commr. acquaints Govt. of measures taken against the rebels and for dissemination of the Queen's Proclamation amongst the rebels.*

Political Department.

Vol. 65 of 1858, pp. 5-9).

No. 1554 of 1858.

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner, Guzerat.

To

H. L. Anderson Esquire,
Secretary to Government,
Bombay.

.....

Dated Baroda, 5th December, 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter, No. 1542 of yesterday's date, I have the honor to state that I have information from Captain Muter, of his arrival at Godra, at 2 A.M., of the 4th.

2. At 6 p.m. of that day he wrote that two parties of the Rebels who had united near Barriah, moved during the 3rd and 4th to a spot in the Jungles on the Baroda road only six miles from Barriah, and 12 from Godra.

3. A spy sent by Captain Muter learnt that they were not aware of the arrival of the force at Godra, and probably would attack that place this morning, but I fear that they will send out their own spies, and change their plan to falling upon Hullore¹⁰² or some other place.

Captain Muter is well on the alert.

4. The main body of Rebels is supposed to be still at Babbra¹⁰³, and the halt of these two Detachments & the position they have taken up leads me to suppose, that their plan is to remain in the Barriah jungle as long as they can, and commit depredation by forced marches from them. This being the case, I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that it is imperatively my duty to call upon Brigadier Parke, to give me the services of Captain Buckle for the performance of the functions of his own appointment as Assistant Political Agent Rewa Kaunta.

¹⁰² *Hallore*.—Rly. Station on Champaner—Shivrajpur—Pani Mines (N. G.) line in Western Railway. It is a village in Panch Mahals District of the Gujarat, with ruins of Champaner. It is a well wooded and tilled plain surrounding the hill fort of Pavagarh. Three rivers, the Karad, Vishwamitri and Devnadi cross Hallore from East to West. (I.G.I., XIII, p. 12. XIV p. 317).

¹⁰³ *Babra*.—Petty State in Gohelwar Prant of Kathiawar of the Gujarat State. Now it is in the Amreli District of Gujarat. This town is situated on the Rajkot Bhavnagar main road. It was a holding of the Valakathis. It is about ten miles from the Chital and Lathi Rly. stations, and about fifteen miles from the Dhasa Rly. station. The Taluka consists of six villages. (I.G.I. VI, p. 164; XV, p. 165., B.G. VIII, p. 372).

5. That district is at present occupied by the Rebels ; Major Wallace though much better, is not able to go out, and so far from Mr. Barton¹⁰⁴ appearing at his post, he has not even up to this moment reported his departure from Bombay to me or Major Wallace.

6. In addition to Captain Buckle[s] services, I conceive I am bound also to call on Brigadier Parke, to give me the 500 Cavalry which the Maharaja, and myself gave up for the use of the Government of India generally, in the Rains.

7. Those sowars are required to save the Territories of His Highness the Gaekwar, and the villages of the Rewa Kanta, and it is my duty to devote them to their legitimate purpose, which after all, is the very one for which they were originally detached from Baroda viz. to act against the Rebel followers of Tantia Topee.

8. I have just heard of the arrival of Wing of Her Majesty's 33rd Regiment at Tankaria, and I expect them here by tomorrow morning at latest.

9. With them and the 500 Cavalry above referred to, we shall be quite strong enough to eject the whole horde of Rebels, supposing the main column to have remained at Babbra.

10. This delay of the enemy ought to enable General Mitchell¹⁰⁵ to close in upon Rutlam and Bhopawar¹⁰⁶.

11. While Tantia Topee was encamped at Oodeypore and before Brigadier Parke attacked him, I had endeavoured through spies employed by the Durbar to have several vernacular copies of the Queen's Proclamation disseminated amongst the Rebels but that attempt failed.

12. I am now trying through the means of prisoners taken by Brigadier Parke, and Captain Collier to effect the same object and Captain Buckle will doubtless do his best.

13. Major Wallace has just heard from one of his Thanadars, who confirms in every point the information which had reached Captain Muter.

14. Assuredly Godra would have been plundered last night but for the arrival of our Troops there yesterday morning.

15. I am a little afraid of Hullore, but if it has escaped this morning I shall be able to make it secure during tomorrow.

¹⁰⁴ *Lt. Barton, Lionel Chase*.—Lieutenant in first Regt. N. I. stationed at Broach, Season of Apptt.—1848. Date of Apptt.—24 February 1857, Regt. Rank—15 November 1853. He was Asstt. to the Resdt. at Baroda. (E.I.R., 1858, pp. 44, 76).

¹⁰⁵ *Mitchell Thomas*.—Conductor in Ordnance Commissariat Deptt., conductor, Date of Apptt.—13th December 1851. Station -- Bombay. (E.I.R., 1858 p. 19).

¹⁰⁶ *Bhopawar Agency*.—A political charge under the Central India Agency, lying between 21° 22' and 23° 14' N. and 74° 2' and 75° 31'E. It was bounded on the north by Ratlam, the Indore Agency, Dewas and Gwalior, on the South by the Khandesh District; on the east by British Nimar and the Bhopal and on the way by the Rewa Kantha Agency. The charge was originally divided into two sections, known as the Bhil and Dy. Bhil Agencies; with head-quarters at Bhopawar and Manpur respectively. In 1857, after the Political Officer's residence at Bhopawar was destroyed by mutineers, the head-quarters were at Sardarpur, when the officer commanding the Bhil corps was entrusted with the political control of the Agency (I.G.I., VIII, pp. 145-46).

16. I fully expect that the next news will be that, hearing of the force at the Rebels have dashed off by Jerree to Dohud. In that case Captain Muter will be close at their heels.

No. 22.—*Sir R. Shakespear informs about the rebel force that had gathered at Baria, action taken by him to pursue the enemy and about the loss suffered by Brig. Parke in his attack on Tatya Tope's camp at Udepur. He estimates the strength of the enemy and predicts march of the rebels to Ratlam via Dohud. He states that Brig. Parke's action had saved the British ally Gaikwar and no rebels could enter his territory. He states that Naikda insurrection and Tatya's invasion left no European officer in Rewa Kantha. He describes the precautionary designs of the British Military and the suggestions made to Genl. Roberts to move a force from Ahmadabad to Morassa.*

No. 1542 of 1858.

(pp. 13-21).

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

To

H. L. Anderson, Esquire,
Secretary to Government,
Bombay.

Dated Baroda, 4th December 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 1529 of yesterday's date, I have the honor to state that in the evening I received positive information of a considerable body of the Rebels being at Barriah at 8 a.m. of 2nd.

2. During the night I heard from Lieutt. Browne¹⁰⁷ who commands at Dohud, that another body of the Rebels had reached Babhra at the same hour and date.

3. A glance at the map will show that the Barriah party might with great ease have been at Godra yesterday and I am sorry to say that Captain Muter having made a halt near Ahmedabad would not have been at Godra to oppose the enemy, if he came to that place anytime yesterday.

4. My latest information from Godra is 9 a.m. of the 3rd but I think had the place been attacked any time during yesterday, I should by this hour (noon) have heard of the event.

5. I have a letter from Captain Muter of date 3rd Instt. assuring me that he will be at Godra by — this morning, and I feel pretty easy as to the safety of that important place, but it is very vexatious to think how much better position he would have occupied to take up the pursuit had he been at Godra yesterday.

6. I have the honor to forward copies of 2 letters one of yesterday evening and the other of this morning to the address of that Officer. It will be seen from the first that I have directed him to carry on the pursuit with every possible vigor, and on no account to give it up until he hands it over to some other force of Europeans.

¹⁰⁷ Lt. Browne Alexander Anthony Preston.—Vide f.n. 77 ante.

7. To enable him to do this I have been compelled to take on myself the responsibility of authorizing him to appropriate all cattle, he may find in the villages on the road, giving them a receipt so that they may be secured ultimately from pecuniary loss.

8. In the second note I have pointed out to Captain Muter that Brigadier Parke had suffered considerable loss owing to the enemy after being defeated circling round and attacking his baggage.

9. As far as I am able to form a conjecture, I should say the total strength of the enemy before his defeat on the 1st was about 3,500 fighting men, and that about 500 would be loss sustained by him consequent on Brigr. Parke's attack.

10. I estimate the body of the enemy at Barriah on the 2nd as 1,000 and at Babhra on same date at 2,000.

I believe the Barriah party to have one Elephant with them.

11. Lieutenant Browne's native informant declares that the Babhra party had 12 elephants with them, I do not believe this for spies of this Durbar which entered the Camp at Oodeypoor before Brigadier Parke's attack made no mention of any Elephants.

12. The Raja of Oodeypoor had two Elephants of his own, probably one has been taken to Babhra and the other to Barriah, and unless they got some at Ally Rajpore, I cannot conceive how they can have any other animals of that description, because the rate of marching and the strong nature of the country would necessarily have disabled any animals they might have had with them when he crossed the Nerbudda.

13. Supposing Godra secure, I feel convinced that both parties of the Rebels will make for Rutlam via Dohud, and I should say that tomorrow is the earliest date on which they can reach Rutlam.

14. I have heard from Sir R. Hamilton, that General Mitchell was at Indore on the 30th. If he pushed on at once by forced marches for Rutlam he might also be there on the 5th.

15. I think I may congratulate the Bombay Government on being at the present moment secure against all injury to the Province of Guzerat from this band of desparate ruffians.

16. Had the Troops remained at their stations, Baroda and Ahmedabad, this Province would have been ravaged from North to South; so far from our weakness at Baroda and Ahmedabad, being a justification for our not moving Troops, I consider that we could only conceal that weakness by boldly advancing as far as possible to meet the threatened danger.

17. The Sonkheira advance & Brigadier Parke's spirited conduct have saved our faithful ally the Gaekwar, not a single Rebel has yet been known to have entered any one of His Highness' villages for it was only into the Oodeypoor share of Jabooghong¹⁰⁸ that the small party of Rebels entered and they were ejected immediately by Captain Collier's force.

¹⁰⁸ Jambugam — Taluka place in present Baroda District, Gujarat State.

18. The Godra Detachment will, I confidently hope save our rich districts of Kaira and Ahmedabad from the inroad of these marauders.

19. I am very sorry to say that I cannot conclude this letter without making a serious and formal complaint against Lieutenant Barton.

20. Owing to the Naikra (Naikdas) insurrection Major Wallace applied for Mr. Barton's services, and though the paucity of Officers with his Regiment was so great, that he could not be spared from it without serious inconvenience to the public service, still the Bombay Government consented to give his services to aid Major Wallace.

21. He was placed at that Officer's disposal on 11th of November, and he has not arrived at this place up to the present time.

22. On his arrival I will call on him for an explanation, but he has lost an opportunity of doing service of that value to the Government, such as few men have ever enjoyed and the loss of which will, I am sure always be a source of regret to him.

23. Major Wallace has been very sick and quite unable to go to Godra, and thus, with the Naikra difficulty and the invasion of Tantia Topee, the Rewa Kanta has been left without a single European Officer.

24. He would have been of invaluable service in gaining correct information and giving countenance and support to the people during this very critical time.

25. I will send a copy of this para to him on his arrival and Government will be able to judge from his reply what orders should be issued on the subject.

26. The Bombay Government will of course be very anxious to know the amount of loss that will result from this inroad of Tantia Topee.

27. Unless something very unforeseen happens, I think the injury will be confined solely to the Rewa Kaunta districts.

28. As yet I believe the Oodeypoor Raja has suffered but slightly, we have yet to learn, of what has occurred at Barriah, but Hallore, Kullole¹⁰⁹, Godra and Dohud, all the large cities in that quarter have escaped.

29. About Dohud I am easy. Lieutt. Browne of the Engineers with his usual devotion to the service, started immediately I spoke to him, & reached the place in a few hours.

30. The fortifications there will defy such an enemy as the one we have
 100 14th Native Infantry. to deal with : its garrison consists of the
 24 Golundauze Troops, as per margin.
 4 Guns

31. General Roberts on getting a telegram from me, sent 24 Golundauze from Ahmedabad on Camels and they ought to have reached the place on the night of the 2nd.

¹⁰⁹ *Kalol*.-- Southern Taluka of the Western portion of Panch Mahals, District of Gujarat, including the petty sub-division (petta) of Halol, lying between 22° 15' and 22° 44' N. and 73° 22' and 13° 44'E. Three rivers namely, Mesri, Goma and Karad cross this Taluka. (I.G.I. XIV, p. 317).

32. The Godra Detachment will be there on the sixth and the enemy cannot reach it before the 3rd.

Supplies for 14 days are in the place. No possible precaution has been omitted and as I said before I feel easy about the safety of Dohud.

33. I signalled this morning to General Roberts, proposing that he should move a force as speedily as possible from Ahmedabad to Morassa¹¹⁰, but the former station is so very weak that I doubt whether he will be able to adopt my suggestion.

P.S.

In my letter No. 1481 of date 29th ultimo, I mentioned Lieut. Bonner as having been directed by me to proceed to Oodeypoor & endeavour to hold that post.

I enclose copy of that Officer's letter, it will be seen that he did his utmost, but as my letter did not reach him until after the place had been occupied by the rebels, it was impossible for him to aid the Raja.

Since the above was written, I have received two papers, I forward them to Government without remarks. One is a Telegram from General Roberts and the other a Translation of a letter from the Raja of Deoghur (Deogad Baria) to the Political Agent Rewa Kaunta.

No. 23.—The Pol. Commr. informs Captain Muter that on the defeat of the rebels by Brigadier Parke at Udepur, a party of them in flight swept round by his rear, plundered his baggage and killed many persons. He gives warning and directions to Captain Muter for taking all precautions to save his baggage from the rebels.

No. 1536 of 1858.

(pp. 25-26).

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner, Guzerat.

To

Captain Muter,
Commanding Field Detachment, Godra.

Dated Baroda, 4th December 1858.

Sir,

I think it proper that you should be informed that when the Rebels were defeated by Brigadier Parke at Oodeypore, on the 1st instant, a party of them in flight swept round by his rear overpowered his baggage guard, killing several and plundering baggage and stores, to a considerable amount.

¹¹⁰ *Modasa*.—Town in the Prantij Taluka of Ahmedabad District of Gujarat, situated in $23^{\circ} 18' N.$ and $73^{\circ} 18' E.$ on the river Majham. Modasa occupied an important strategical position between Gujarat and the hilly tracts constituting the Native States of Idar and Dungarpur. (I.G.I. XVII, pp. 380-81).

2. You will therefore see the necessity of taking every precaution for the safety of your baggage in the neighbourhood of the rebels.

3. You can take the whole of the 80 Guzerat Irregular Horse, coming with Lieutenant Le Geyt, giving orders to the Mamlatdar of Godra to detain until further orders at that place, the Commissariat camels there expected, and to report their arrival to Major Wallace.

No. 24.—Sir R. Shakespear transmits the correspondence relative to the reported movements of the rebels and the means taken by him to prevent their penetration and requests to approve his appointing Captain Buckle and Captain Thomas as Assistants for Rewa Kantha.

No. 1571 of 1858.

(pp. 41-43)

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

To

H. L. Anderson Esquire,
Secretary to Government,
Political Department, Bombay.

Dated Baroda, 6th December 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 1556 of yesterday's date I have the honor

1. Letter from Captain Muter of 5th to transmit for your information copy instant No. of the correspondence¹¹¹ as per margin
2. My reply, No. 1564 of this date to Captain Muter from which will be perceived the
3. My letter No. 1561 to Captn. Collier reported movement of the rebels and
4. Do. do. No. 1562 to Captn. Thompson the means I have taken to prevent
5. My Telegram No. 1563.
6. My letter No. 1565 to Brigadier Parke. them from penetrating farther into the province & plundering any of the
7. My letter No. 1560 to Captn. Thompson large Cities.

2. My belief is that the Rebels on hearing that Captain Muter's Detachment is at Godra, will turn off in a Northerly directions and make for Jellode¹¹² which place most probably would fall into their hands yesterday and Kussulghur¹¹³ today, there they will hear of the Troops at Rutlam.

¹¹¹ Vide Political Dept. Vol. No. 65 of 1858, pp. 49-68.

¹¹² *Jhullod*.—Town in the petty division (peitha) of the same name in the Dohad Taluka of the Panch Mahal, District Gujarat, situated in 23° 6'N. and 74° 9'E. *J.G.I.* XIV, p. 122.

¹¹³ *Kushalgarh*.—Estate or petty Chiefship in the south-east of the state of Banaswa, in former Rajputana. The estate was of some political interest in consequence of the position of its holder relative to the Chief of Banaswara. The Royal family belonged to the Rathor class of Rajputs. The Chief was entitled as the Rao of Kushalgarh. His position was like that of a mediatised or guaranteed fundatory. He paid tribute to Banaswara through the Assistant to the Resdt. in Mewar. (*I.G.I.*, XVI, pp. 55-6).

This I believe will be the probably course of events.

3. At the same time the tone of Captain Muter's letter is not what I could wish and I think I ought to go to Godra.

4. I have not yet seen the Ministers but I am pretty sure I will be there by sunrise tomorrow.

5. At that place there will then be the force in the margin, and should Tantia

2 Guns (Europeans).

try to get to Marwar by skirting Edur

3 Do. Native.

I must manoeuvre the above force

125 European Infantry.

400 Native Do.

140 Guzerat I. Horse.

60 Durbar Horse.

towards Morassa.

6. I signalled to General Roberts on the 4th to send a force to Morassa, but am sorry to say he has replied that it is not in his power to do so, owing to paucity of cattle.

7. If Mr. Barton appears, I will have instructions for him to report himself to Captain Raikes within four days at latest.

8. Major Wallace will be at Godra on the 8th.

9. I hope Government will approve of the arrangements I have made by which Captain Buckle and Captain Thompson may become available as Assistants for Rewa Kaunta.

10. I contemplate moving up Captain Collier's force towards Baroda.

11. I have no positive information yet of the 33rd having left Tankaria : I have spring Carts here ready to push on 200 Europeans without Tents by Dhakore¹¹⁴ and Kupperwanje¹¹⁵ through the Kaira districts to Morassa.

12. Captain Wilson¹¹⁶, my Assistant will accompany them and will push on with the greatest rapa[i]dity.

¹¹⁴ *Dakor*.—A place of pilgrimage for Hindus in the Thasra Taluka of the Kaira District of Guzarat, situated in 22° 45' N. and 73° 11' E. on the Godhra. Ratlam branch of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Rly. The Chief object of interest at Dakor is the temple of Ranchodji or Krishna. The image of this deity was brought from Dwarka by Bodhane, a Rajput devotee. There are monthly meetings, but the largest gatherings take place in about the full moon in October-November, when many of the pilgrims assemble. (*I.G.I.* XI, p. 124).

¹¹⁵ *Kapadvanj*.—Headquarters of the Taluka of the same name in Kaira District of Guzarat, situated in 23° 1' N. and 73° 5' E. Kapadvanj derives its importance from lying on one of the main trade routes-between Central India and the coast. It is an important station on the Nadiad-Kapadvanj (W. G.) line on the Western Rly. (*Ibid.* XIV, p. 406).

¹¹⁶ *Capt. Wilson, William*.—Captain in the 1st Regt. N. I. stationed at Broach, season of App'tt.—1844, Regt. Rank—23rd November 1856. He was the Asstt. Political Commissioner, Gujarat. (*E.I.R.*, 1858, p. 44).

No. 25.—Sir. R. Shakespear receives intelligence about assembling of Tatya Tope's large army at Pimplode and about their marching to Godhra via Odwada.

Enclosure to above :

No. 1.

(pp. No. 49-50).

To

Sir Richmond Shakespear,
Resident at Baroda.

Camp Godra,
5th December 1858.

Sir.

I have just received information, which I think, correct that Tantia Tope's Army has assembled at Pimplode¹¹⁷ in the Dewgud Territory reported to be Eight thousand strong, and now joined by a Force Two thousand. The concentration took place yesterday morning.

This news was brought to me by Patell Bysing of Kalla Kooah before the Dewgud Rajah's letter arrived. He also informed they were on their way to Godra via Odwada¹¹⁸. I do not think it advisable to attack so large a force.. In case they come this way I shall defend my position or follow them wherever they go.

(Signed) Lt. John R. Muter, Captt.,
Commanding Field Detachment.

The enclosed letter I am assured was sent by the Dewgud Rajah and the Assistant Superintendent gave the bearer five rupees.

(Sd.) Lt. J. R. Muter.

No. 26.—Sir R. Shakespear assures Captain Muter about the additional help for attacking the rebels at Godhra.

Enclosure

No. 2.

(pp. 51-2)

No. 1564 of 1858.

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.
Political Commissioner Guzerat.

To

Captain Muter
Commanding Field Detachment,
Godra.

Dated Baroda, 6th December 1858.

Sir,

Your Express letter of the 5th Instt. had just reached me.

¹¹⁷ *Piplode*.—One of the mediatised Chiefships of the former Central India Agency, in the Malwa Political Charge. Piploda, the Capital of the estate is situated in 23° 36' N. and 74° 57' E. 11 miles from Jaora. Presently it is in Dediapada Taluka of Broach District in Gujarat. The Chief Thakur belonged to the family of Doria Rajputs. During the Mutiny Thakur Shivsingh furnished cavalry and men to the British authorities at Mandasor. Piplod is an important Rly. Junction on the Western Rly. (I.G.I. XX, p. 148-49).

¹¹⁸ *Udwada*.—A town in the Pardi Taluka of the Surat District of Gujarat. It is a Rly. Station in the Western Rly. (D.C.H., Surat, pp. 416-19).

2. As you think your force unequal to cope with Tantia, I have sent an express to Captain Thompson¹¹⁹ directing him to join you as quickly as possible.

3. I will push on the Europeans directly they arrive from Tankaria, in spring carts across the Mhye, into the Kaira country, by the direct road towards Morassa.

4. You are directed to attack the Rebels at all peril, on Captain Thompson's arrival, if you have not done so before you are *not* to wait for any additional reinforcements.

5. The enemy is broken and must not be allowed to rally the numbers you have heard are gross exaggeration.

6. Tell your men there is vast Treasure going a begging in the jungles and they are sure of it, if they will only attack with vigor.

P. S.

I hope to be out from Godra soon but do not wait for me.

No. 27.—The Pol. Commr. reports to Government how he checked the advance of Tatya Tope and his followers by posting Captain Muter who followed them and thereby how Tatya got thoroughly disheartened.

No. 1588 of 1858.

(pp. 71-3)

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir. R. Shakespear Kt.
Political Commissioner in Guerat.

To

H. L. Anderson Esquire,
Secretary to Government,
Bombay.

Dated Baroda, 7th December 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to forward copy of a letter^{119a}, dated camp Godra yesterday 6th Instant, at a quarter past noon, from Captain Muter, Commanding Field Detachment, from which it will be seen, that as I have repeatedly said would happen, the presence of the Godhra Force has completely checked the advance of Tantia. He has turned "to the right about" and made for Dohud where Captain Muter has followed him.

2. That the posting of detachments at Sonkheira and Godra, have completely turned the Rebels is as clear to me as cause and effect.

¹¹⁹ *Capt. Thompson Edward.*—Captain in the 8th Regt. N. I. stationed at Baroda and arrived in January, 1856, Season of Apptt. 1840, Regt. Rank—2 Sept. 1852 (E. I. R., 1858, p. 51).

^{119a} *Vide P. D. Vol. No. 65 of 1858, p. 75.*

He was advancing direct on both those places from distant points, and the discovery of arrangements for his reception appears to have made him not only diverge from his route but has compelled him to give up all intention of ravaging the districts defended from those places.

He is thoroughly disheartened and his career will soon terminate if we adopt the plan of checking him from distant points.

My letter to Brigr. Parke, Commanding 3. I cannot better explain my views 2nd Brigade Rajpootana, Field Force Camp and expectations than by forwarding Chota Oodeypoor. No. 1584 of this day's date, copies of papers^{119b} as per margin.

My demi-Official of same date to General 4. In the enclosure referred to in Roberts, Commanding N. D. A., Ahmedabad. para. 1 of this letter, it will be again

Do. Do. to Captain Raikes, Offg. noticed how serious the inconvenience Political Agent Mhye Kanta, Edur. to Government has been owing to Mr. Barton not being at Godra.

Telegram No. 1567 of yesterday's date to [redacted] Had he been there Captain Muter General Roberts, Ahmedabad. [redacted] would never have had to make such

Telegram No. 1568 of yesterday's date to [redacted] a complaint as the one forwarded by Officer Commanding, Deesa. [redacted] him.

5. Mr. Barton has arrived this morning, and I enclose copy of my letter No. 1586^{119c}, dated 6th Instant, to Major Wallace, desiring that he, Mr. Barton may proceed to Edur.

6. Even yet there is no news of the Wing of H. M.'s 33rd having landed at Tankaria Bunder. It would not have been right for me to quit Baroda without that information for there is still anxiety, and the Ministers wished me to remain. Major Wallace starts to night.

P. S.

Captain Muter's letter shows that the enemy had good 24 hour's start of him, and as there was originally 20 miles between the two, it is obvious that for all purposes of real pursuit the Godra force will be of little service, but it will push on the enemy quicker than he would have otherwise gone, and his confusion will be all the greater when he is met by the Mhow Column¹²⁰.

No. 28.—*The Government convey to Sir Shakespear their interest and appreciation in his efforts of posting detachment with Captain Muter at Godhra which checked the advance of Tatya Tope.*

No. 4252 of 1858.

(pp. 93-4)

To

Brigr. Genl. Sir. R. Shakespear Kt.
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

^{119b} *Ibid.*, pp. 77-89.

^{119c} *Vide P. D. Vol. No. 65 of 1858, p. 91.*

¹²⁰ *Mhow (mau)*.—Formerly British cantonment in the Indore State, Central India situated in 22° 33' N. and 75° 46' E. on the southern boundary of the Malwa plateau, and on the Ajmer-Khandwa branch of the Rajputana—Malwa Rly. In 1857, the outbreak took place on the evening of July 1, but order was rapidly restored, and only few lives were lost, the Europeans taking refuge within the fort. The cantonment was the Head-quarter of the Mhow division in the Western command. It is a Rly. station of the Malwa section lines of the Western Railway (*J. G. I.*, XVI., pp. 314-15).

Sir,

I am directed by the R. H. G. C. to acknowledge the receipt of your letter with its several enclosures, No. 1588, dated the 7th instant, reporting that the presence of the field Detachment with Captain Muter of Godhra had checked the advance of Tantia Topey on that point.

2. In reply I am desired to inform you that your letters are perused by Government with great interest and that the R. H. G. C. hopes your strenuous efforts to take Tantia Topey will be crowned with the success which they deserve.

(Id.) H. L. A.

Matheran, 14th December 1858.

No. 29.—*The Pol. Commr. expresses his satisfaction over the security established in the districts of South Gujarat and makes arrangement to protect the northern Gujarat. He also requests Palanpur and Mahi Kantha authorities to effect the Queen's Proclamation amongst the rebels.*

No. 1614 of 1858.

(pp. 95-101)

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir. R. Shakespear Kt.
Political Commissioner in Gujarat.

To :

H. L. Anderson Esquire
Secretary to Government
Political Department Bombay.

Dated Baroda 9th December 1858.

Sir,

Your Express letter No. 4097, in the Secret Department of date 3rd Instant, only reached me yesterday the 7th Instant at 5 p.m.

2. Referring to its 4th para. : I beg to say that the supposition therein contained is correct, as from the Telegram of 30th ultimo, therein adverted to from His Lordship the Governor (the original of which as received from the Telegraph Office here I enclose), it will be seen that this paper was despatched from the Baroda Office at 2-50 p.m. thus not reaching me till 3 p.m. while it will be observed from para : 4 of my letter, of 30th ultimo, No. 1494, that this letter was a report of circumstances up to noon, merely of that day.

3. After receiving His Lordship's Telegram. I signalled on the same day, the 30th ultimo, to Colonel Bates¹²¹ Private Secretary as follows :—

"I am very sorry to hear from Lord Elphinstone's Telegram of this morning that this province is dependent for reinforcements of Europeans, who at the present moment are at Poona."

¹²¹ Baes H.—Col. H.M.S. Corps., apptd. Military Secretary to Governor, 25th March 1854. (E. I. R., 1858, p. 13).

"Is it impossible immediately to send any from Bombay to Tankaria Bunder, where every arrangement is completed for them. Send them here by forced marches".

"The emergency could hardly be greater".

4. Colonel Bates' reply of 1st Instant, as follows, was put into my hand next day the 2nd when riding from the Palace with the Maharaja on an Elephant for the purpose of visiting the outposts.

"Your Telegram of the thirty November just received. You have no doubt heard that the Head Quarters of the thirtythird are to be dispatched immediately from Poona to Tankaria. There are no Europeans at Bombay, the Fiftyseventh having been ordered up to Khandaish."

5. It is peculiarly gratifying to me to find that, I have only anticipated the policy which the Bombay Government would have wished me to follow during the emergency, if time had permitted me to apply for instructions.

6. The feeling of security in the city, and in the districts South of Baroda and up to the Mhye is now most satisfactory, and this has taken a great weight off my mind as my greatest anxiety was lest a panic should seize the population in this neighbourhood, & especially in the city of Baroda, rather than at what might be the result of any actual collision.

7. I have collected light riding carts with trotting bullocks such as used by the Seths of the city, and I can run out 200 men of the 33rd to Morassa direct or via Godra, according as I get intelligence as soon as they arrive from Tankaria Bunder supplies and all are ready.

8. I am very sanguine that we shall at length destroy Tantia's band, and finally capture him. There is one source of anxiety in my mind. It is that Captain Muter may omit some precaution while marching through the Jungles from Godra towards Dohud, but I told him of the fate of Brigadier Parke's baggage.

9. On my mentioning to the Ministers the possibility of such a thing they said that their information tended to show that any body of rebels that heard of 125 Europeans being in the neighbourhood would think only of saving themselves and getting off as fast as possible, they are confident that as I supposed, no Elephants were with Tantia at Chota Oodeypoor.

10. The cattle with the Rebels are described as being in a deplorable state, even when leaving Chota Oodeypoor, & the dreadful country through which their flight has been, since, turned by the posts at Sonkheira and Godra must assuredly have told upon them with frightful severity.

11. The left Wing of H. M.'s 33rd started from Baroda on the 17th ultimo, I calculate that it could not have been at Deesa before the 6th instant, and that the 39th Regiment would not have marched before the 7th. I have great hopes that Colonel Keily will, on receiving my Telegram of the 6th, copy of which is annexed, have halted the 89th.

I signalled this morning to have them brought back if they have gone on the Anadra road, and to move them towards Kheyaloo¹²² and Edur.

12. They will while marching to Edur by Khairaloo be affording the most efficient protection to Meywar and Joudpoor, as well as acting in the most important manner against the rebels by protecting all the rich parts of Northern Guzerat, and confining them to the wild and difficult tracts on the skirts of the province until the Cavalry from Malwa comes up.

13. I have urged both the Pahlunpoor (Palanpur) and the Mhye Kaunta Political authorities to do their utmost to make the Queen's Proclamation known, and have taken on myself the responsibility of authorising them to offer the same rewards for the apprehension of rebels, as detailed in my letter to Captain Thompson, No. 1560 of date 6th instant, which formed enclosure No. 7 to my letter No. 1571 dated 6th instant to your address.

14. It must not be supposed that this reward being offered is at variance with the spirit of the Proclamation for it is offered only for prisoners brought in alive, and will be a most merciful measure inasmuch as when the body of rebels is totally broken up and dispersed in all directions, the Koolies & Bhils will bring in many a man for the hope of the 25 Rupees, whom otherwise they would certainly have murdered.

15. They are in such a reduced state now, that could we but convince them of our sincerity as to the mercies of the Proclamation, I am sure they would come in large numbers giving up their arms and property.

16. About the treasure I can get no information as to the way it is carried or whether it really exists. One man taken at Jabboogam is said to have had 80 gold Mohurs on him, but native report exaggerates these matters so dreadfully that as yet I can place no certain reliance on the rumour.

17. Major Wallace went out last night to Hallore en route to Godra.

The Ministers assure me that they will be able to get Kevul Naik¹²³ in, and that they have made an arrangement with him if I will aid with 100 men to seize Roopa.¹²⁴

18. About Mondetti I have a long letter from Captain Raikes, which I cannot get copied today. He appears to be acting judiciously, but Mondetti is acting as foolishly as ever. But I can't imagine that matter giving us any serious trouble, and I do believe that even were the Rebels in a thriving, instead of a ruined condition Mondetti, in spite of all that has passed, would be one of the last men to join them.

¹²² *Kheralu*.—Town in the Taluka of the same name in the Mehsana District of Guzerat. It is situated in 23° 54' N. and 72° 39' E. on the Mehsana—Taranga Hill (M. G.) line of the Western Railway, (*I. G. I.*, XV, p. 268; *D. C. H.*, Mehsana, p. 204).

¹²³ *Keval Naik*.—In October 1858, instigated by the intrigues of the Bhanu Saheb Pavar, the Sankheda Naikdas took up arms under Rupa and Keval Naiks and after plundering the Narukot, attacked a detachment of the 8th Regiment N. I. under Captain Bates at Jambughoda. The Naikdas joined Villayatis and occupied the country between Champaner and Narukot and kept up a harassing warfare, plundering the villages as far north as Godhra. Captain Richard Bonner, who was employed to raise and organize a Bhil Corps at Dohud, reduced the Naikdas to submission. Rupa Naik laid down his arms and accepted the amnesty of the 10th March, 1859. and Keval Naik followed his example soon after, (*B. G.*, Vol. I., Pt. I., pp. 445-46).

¹²⁴ *Rupa Naik*.—Leader of Naikda Bhils who surrendered the British in 1859.

No. 30.—The acting Magistrate of Kaira describes an unusual action of Sir R. Shakespear, who ordered Capt. Thatcher, Kaira Police Supdt. to rush to Baroda with all the available Kaira Police Corps and Capt. Thatcher did so without taking permission of the Magistrate and the Police Comms. at Kaira. Mr. Grey observes the whole event as an unprecedented and improper from the administrative point of view.

No. 873 of 1858.

(pp. 109-24)

From

Alexander Gray, Esquire,
Acting Magistrate, Kaira.

To

A. Bettington, Esquire,
Commissioner of Police, Camp Belgaum.

Kaira Magistrate's Camp.

Napar¹²⁵, 4th December 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to report the following circumstance.

2. On the morning of 30th ultimo the Deputy Magistrate in charge at Kaira received a telegram from Sir R. Shakespear, as Political Commissioner in Guzerat, saying that Tantia Topee's followers had been driven back across the Nurbudda, that they were at Ali Rajpore the day before, that parties of them might possibly enter the province & that he thought it would be advisable to strengthen the Thannas on the Myhee.

3. On requisition being made upon the Officer Commanding the Guzerat Provincial Battalion it was found that having to furnish the whole of the Jail and Treasury guards at Kaira, besides other duty, he could only spare a small party which was sent to Thasra.¹²⁶ The Superintendent of Police, however, made immediate preparations for moving out in the direction indicated with a considerable portion of the newly raised Kaira Police Corps and mounted Police.

4. In the course of the day the Superintendent of Police telegraphed direct to the Political Commissioner (I do not know exactly why) that he was moving out with 200 foot and 30 Horse, and at 5 O'clock in the evening the Political Commissioner telegraphed to Captain Thatcher as follows :

“ If without weakening Treasure guards and Thannas you can move the Force mentioned in your Telegram of today to Baroda, it would certainly be very desirable that you should do so at once ”.

5. This message reached Captain Thatcher the next morning, namely the 1st Instant, when he sent an express to me saying that he had been ordered to take his men to Baroda and should march on the following morning.

¹²⁵ Napad.—Village in the Anand Taluka of Kaira, District Gujarat, situated in 22° 29' N. and 72° 59' E., 14 miles west of the Vasad Rly. Station (*I. G. I.*, XVIII, p. 368).

¹²⁶ Thasra.—North-eastern Taluka of Kaira, District Gujarat, lying between 22° 38' and 22° 58' N. & 73° 3' and 73° 23' E. The Head-quarters were at Thasra. (*Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 328).

6. Captain Thatcher's express reached me in the evening, at Borsud¹²⁷ where I had been for more than a week and I at once addressed the Political Commissioner demi-officially by express, as follows :

“ Captain Thatcher, Superintendent of Police at Kaira, writes “ A Telegram 1st December 1858 has just come, ordering me to take my men to Baroda.”

“ I am ready to do all in my power to accommodate, but the Superintendent of Police and the Police Corps have no duty beyond the limits of the Kaira Collectorate and I am not authorised to dispense with their services.”

“ I therefore beg you will kindly let me know as quickly as possible what is really meant by the message received by Captain Thatcher, & what the exigency is if the Kaira Police Corps, or part of it is wanted at Baroda.”

“ The bearer of this will wait for an answer, and as Captain Thatcher will not march from Kaira till tomorrow morning, I hope to hear from you before he arrives in this neighbourhood.”

“ I shall remain here probably until Saturday but will give you information of my movements.”

“ Your message of yesterday relative to Tantia Topee's locality and the expediency of reinforcing the guards near the river was delivered here last night, but had of course been duly acted upon receipt at Kaira.”

7. To this letter Sir R. Shakespear sent the following reply in full official form, No. 1516 of which, however, did not reach me until the afternoon of yesterday the 3rd instant. 2nd Decr. 1858

“ I have just received your note dated from Borsud yesterday.”

“ You have taken a grave responsibility upon yourself if you have prevented the Police coming on at once to Baroda.”

“ The exigency could scarcely be greater and their presence here is of paramount importance.”

“ I hope, however, that notwithstanding your note, Captain Thatcher and the Police are coming on here with the utmost speed possible. On no account detain them. I am solely responsible.”

“ The rebels are known to have been at Chota Oodeypoor on the 30th. A force from Ahmedabad will be at Godra today. Lieutt. Le Geyt with 80 Guzerat Irregular Horse will be at Kuppurunj this evening, but during tonight a serious disaster may occur if you have stopped the Police, as the rebels may at any moment be close to Baroda.”

8. On the 2nd Instant in the middle of the day and before I had received the above letter, I heard from Captain Thatcher, then thirty-five miles on his way to Baroda that by a telegram received the night (day ?) before he had been ordered to make a forced march to Baroda, that he had started at 3 O'clock in the afternoon with 250 of the Kaira Police Corps and 25 of the Mounted Police and hoped to reach Baroda in the evening. Captain Thatcher also sent me a written message he had received from Sir R. Shakespear to the effect that he was to march with his Police to Baroda with the utmost possible speed, and “ to pay no attention to the orders of any other authority.” 2nd Decemr. 1858 10A.M.

¹²⁷ Borsad.—Town (formerly head-quarters) in the Taluka of the same name in Kaira District, Gujarat (*Ibid*, IX, p. 7).

9. I understand that Captain Thatcher did arrive at Baroda at 8 or 9 O'clock the same evening, a circumstance which, as the distance is 50 miles and the march was performed in 30 hours, I should think will be considered highly to his credit and that of the new Police Corps lately raised by him, and which I am glad to have the opportunity of alluding to incidentally, though it is not my business to do so.

10. It will be seen from the above, not only that the Superintendent of Police and considerably more than a third of the entire Police force were actually out of the Zilla, in pursuance of orders addressed direct to the Superintendent, before I had received any communication on the subject from Sir R. Shakespear, but that no communication was considered necessary until I myself applied to the Political Commissioner for explanation.

11. To Sir R. Shakespear's letter of the 2nd instant, therefore, transcribed, in para. 7, I yesterday replied as follows :

No. 868 of
3rd Decr.
1858

2. "My demi-official letter of the 1st Instant said nothing about detaining the Police or preventing them from proceeding to Baroda though had they been detained, in consequence of your omission to communicate with me the responsibility, I apprehend would have been yours and not mine.

3. The object of my letter was simply, as stated, to obtain some explanation as to the call for the Kaira Police and such explanation, I must respectfully, say, was due to me in the first instance and without being asked for. It could very easily have been afforded and the greater the emergency the more necessary it was that I should be made acquainted with it."

There can be
very little
doubt about
it (Id/-) E.

12. It is evident that Sir R. Shakespear and myself entertain very different opinions as to the positions in which we have been respectively placed by Government and *that one of us must be wrong*. Sir Richmond acts as if there were no Magistrate, of Kaira, and this apparently without any good reason making all allowance for the difficulties and press of business which were no doubt consequent upon an unexpected approach of the rebel force. He was aware from the communications almost daily addressed to him as Resident at Baroda that I was at the time only about twenty miles from that place. If circumstances prevented his addressing a separate and special Communication to me on so important a subject as the sudden removal of the Superintendent of Police and so large a portion of the force under his command it would have been very easy to address the requisition or order to the Magistrate or the Deputy Magistrate in charge of the Sudder station or at any rate to have ordered a copy to be supplied. My own opinion is that not only information but also some explanation however brief should as a matter of course have been conveyed as quickly as possible to the Magistrate. Sir R. Shakespear appears to forget that the Superintendent of Police is a Civil Officer and subordinate of the Magistrate, that both the Superintendent and the Police Corps belong exclusively to the Kaira Zilla and that to move them elsewhere is a very different thing from ordering a movement of troops ; also that the Superintendent is not the only person to judge what strength of guards may or may not be sufficient at the different stations or the best judge as to the general requirements of the Zilla and what portion of the Police Corps can be safely spared. Sir Richmond Shakespear further considers that if not having been made aware of any emergency or alteration in the state of affairs

communicated in his telegram of the 30th of November, the very purpose of which was to indicate especial necessity for employing the whole available portion of the Police Force on or near the Kaira bank of the Myhee, I had taken upon myself to detain the Police within the limits of the Zilla pending a reply from him the responsibility would have rested upon me. It seems to me that it would have rested upon him.

13. As a difference of opinion like this may at any time prove detrimental to the public service I shall be glad if in the event of your coinciding with me you will take such steps as you may consider advisable in order to set the matter at rest. Should you think me wrong in my views an intimation to that effect will relieve me from much uncertainty as to what my duty is in any future case in which the Police may be concerned.

14. Whether the Political Commissioner was justified under any circumstances, in making an imperative call for a portion of the Civil establishment so purely local in its character and functions as the Superintendent of Police and the Police Corps, is a question into which it is not my business to enter, and I have expressed no opinion on the subject. But it is my duty to point out clearly that the course taken by Sir R. Shakespear instead of the simple, regular, and, as it appears to me, obviously necessary one of Communicating with the Magistrate which it would have been as easy to adopt as any other, resulted in the following position. A Superintendent of Police deserts his post for he left without any arrangement being made to relieve him and takes with him upwards of a third of the Police Force at the bidding of an authority of whose existence even, not to say powers, he had not official knowledge, for Sir R. Shakespear's appointment to the exercise of special powers not having been formally communicated to me by Government has of course never been communicated officially by me to my subordinates. The Superintendent reports his departure both to the Magistrate and to the Commissioner of Police. The Magistrate not knowing what may or may not have happened is constrained to remain passive, neither giving nor withholding his consent. The Commissioner of Police, if I am correctly informed, orders the Superintendent not to quit the Zilla. The Political Commissioner orders the Superintendent to quit it as fast as he can and pay no attention to any other authority. He does so, and at a time when the Political Commissioner had himself intimated that increased strength and vigilance were necessary, the remaining Police Establishment is left to take care of itself.

15. For two days I did not know who was in charge of the Police or whether any one was. On the morning of the 3rd Instant, however, the Political Commissioner sent a telegraphic message on the subject copy of which together with my reply^{127a} will be found annexed. Here again it seems to me Sir R. Shakespear has stepped beyond his position. In saying that Mr. Ashburner¹²⁸ was to take charge his object may have been to provide for the duty being undertaken as quickly as possible by some one. But Sir Richmand goes further than this and says that Mr. Ashburner is to take charge *until Captain Thatcher's return*. I respectfully

^{127a} *Vide* P. D. Vol. No. 65 of 1858, pp. 126-29.

¹²⁸ *Ashburner Lionel Robert*—entd. 1848; First assistant to Collector and Magistrate, Kaira. (E.I.R., p. 6). He raised a force for the protection of the District. He suppressed a rising of Thakors at Partabpur, (B.G., Vol. I, pp. 439, 443-4).

submit that the choice of a person to officiate under such circumstances is entirely a matter appertaining to the internal management of the Collectorate dependant upon a variety of considerations of which the Political Commissioner knows nothing whatever and that it must therefore be left entirely to the discretion of the Magistrate.

16. As the occurrences now reported are very unusual and anomalous and as I observe that you are now in the Southern part of the Presidency I shall submit a copy of this letter for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor in Council.

No. 31.—Sir R. Shakespear telegraphs and calls to Mr. Gray to take charge of Capt. Thatcher's office until his return and informs about Brig. Parke's action against the rebels at Chota Udepur who were killed and dispersed.

(p. 125)

From Baroda	To Kaira.
Friday, 3rd December, 9-15 morning.	To Mr. Gray and
From Political Commissioner.	Mr. Ashburner.

Words 84 S. R.

Let Mr. Ashburner take charge of Captain Thatcher's Office until Captain Thatcher's return. Brigadier Parke surprised the rebels at Chota Oodeypore on the first instant and dispersed them killing three hundred. They have fled in several directions, one party supposed to have gone back into maleva (Malwa) another has gone to the South and a third spreading into the Jungles perhaps to the north or north west.

Kaira,
Electric Telegraph Office, Copy of this telegram to be sent to Mr. Gray and
the 3rd of December 1858. a copy also to Mr. Ashburner.

(Sd.) W. Sayers.
Head Singnaller Incharge.

No. 32.—The Government take exception to the letter of Mr. Gray about the conduct of Sir Shakespear and advises him that his duty is to give support to the Poll. Commissioner.

(pp. 133-4)
Decr. 1858 No. 9798

I think that Mr. Gray should be told that his letter to the Commissioner of Police reflecting upon the Political Commissioner in Guzerat is highly objectionable.

He should have confined himself to a simple statement of the circumstances under which the Police had been ordered beyond the limits of the Zilla, and

which it is evident from the 7th para of his letter to Mr. Bettington¹²⁹ Sir Richmond Shakespear had explained to him fully.

Mr. Gray should be informed that the object of Govt. in appointing a Political Commissioner in Guzerat, and in giving him full power to call upon the Police as well as the Military Force, would be defeated if each Magistrate were permitted to question his Acts. His duty is to give him the utmost support in his power and not to write long letters to the Commissioner of Police cavilling at what he did at a moment of great difficulty.

No. 9799.

(Id.) E.

Decr. 14.

I quite agree Mr. Gray is evidently thinking more of etiquette and his own dignity than the public exigencies.

(Id.) H. R.

Dec. 15.

No. 33.—The Bombay Government sanctions compensation to Captain Buckle for the loss sustained by him due to plunder caused by the rebels in their flight from Udepur.

No. 4424 of 1858.

(p. 157).

To

Brigadier Genl. Sir R. Shakespear,
Pol. Commissioner in Guzerat.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Memo. No. 1629, dated the 10th instant, forwarding for the consideration of Government copy of a letter from Captain Buckle, commanding Detachment, Guzerat Irregular Horse reporting the plunder by the rebels in their flight from Oodeypoor, of Rupees twelve hundred and thirty-three and annas two, belonging to his detachment, and to inform you that the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council is pleased to sanction the grant of compensation to the extent of the loss as mentioned above.

(Id.) H. L. A.

B. C.

21st Decr. 1858.

No. 34.—Copy of the above letter was sent to the Civil Auditor.

(Vide Endt. No. 4425 of 1858 of 21st December 1858, p. 157).

¹²⁹ Bettington, Albemarle—Apptd. 1829, Inspector-General of Prisons and Commissioner of Police. (E.I.R. 1858, p. 5).

No. 35.—Sir R. Shakespear expresses his dissatisfaction over the hesitating proceedings of Captain Muter and lack of confidence in his force. He encloses a statement of Borah Ali Surruf Hyderbhai and a letter written to Captain Wilson indicating the Government's anxiety for the surrender of the rebels on the terms of the Queen's Proclamation.

No. 1636 of 1858.

(pp. 167-70)

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner in Gujarat.

To

H. L. Anderson Esquire,
Secretary to Government,
Political Department,
Bombay.

Dated Baroda 11th December 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to forward copies of the papers, as per margin.

2. No news has been received from Captain Muter later than midnight of the Letter from Major Wallace Poll. 7th instant, when he was at Peepplode Agent, Rewa-Kaunta, to me without number, dated Godra, 10th instant containing copy of a letter from Lieutt. Browne, Commanding at Dohud to Asstt. Adjutant General N.D.A., dated noon 8th Instant. Copy of a letter from Major Wallace also without number to Major General Roberts of same date as above enclosing statement of Borah Surruf Ali Hyderbhoye.
3. Had this Officer advanced on the 5th instant, instead of hesitating at Godra and talking of defending his position he would have saved Jhallore and ere this have been up with the enemy.

He left Godra at 2 p.m. of the 6th and by mid-night of the 7th he had only made about 20 miles.

4. It is very painful to me to have to draw the attention of Government thus prominently to another instance of the want of energy and vigor on the part of an Officer commanding a Field force.

5. Had Captain Muter had European Gunners instead of natives he would I think have acted differently.

All his proceedings seem to show a hesitation and want of confidence in his force.

6. I beg particular attention to the statement of Borah Ali Surruf Hyderbhye in enclosure No. 2.

The rebels are evidently reduced to the last extremity and only anxious to surrender.

7. If the Jowra¹³⁰ (Jaora) or a portion of the Rutlam Troops have advanced to Banswara¹³¹ they may head the fugitives again at Saugwara¹³² and I still think the night of the 9th will see the career of Tantia Topee closed.

8. If Captain Muter was unable to push on with his guns quicker than he has done he should have sent Sowars ahead to endeavour to open communication with the rebels and notify to them the mercies of the proclamation.

9. You will see by the enclosed copy of note of date 5th instant, written at my desire by Captain Wilson that I pointed out to him how anxious Government was that the rebels should surrender on the terms of the proclamation.

10. I still hope he may have done so, and it is obvious from the report Enclosure No. 2 that by a very little management the mass of the followers still with Tantia Tope might be brought in and then the Troops in Malwa would be available for the operations which must shortly be expected to the Eastward to control the Nana.

No. 36—Major Wallace mentions the news about the rebels' entry into Jhalod and taking the possession of it, but later confirms the falsity of the news about the Police and the Gaikwar's Horse which in fact went away with the Mamlatdar for their own security.

Enclosure to the above : No. 1.

(pp. 171-173)

To

Brig. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear,

Godra, December 10th.

Sir,

A letter of which the following is a copy has been received here by express.

Dohud,

12 a.m. 8th December 1858.

To

The Asstt. Adjutant General N. D. A.

Sir,

I have the honor to report for the information of the Major General Commanding N. D. A. that Futtu Khan Jemadar of Seebundies at Jhalode has just come

¹³⁰ *Jaora*.—Formerly capital and head-quarters of a treaty State of the same name in Central India or Madhya Pradesh, situated in 23° 38' N. and 75° 8' E. Jaora is on the Ajmer—Khandwa branch of the Rajputana—Malwa Rly. The State was bounded by portions of the Indore, Gwalior and Ratlam States of Agency, the State of Partabgarh in Rajputana and the Thakurat of Piploda. The place is on the Malwa highlands, and shares in the general conditions common to that region. The rivers Chambal and Sipra are noteworthy. (*I. G. I.*, XIV, pp. 62-66).

¹³¹ *Banswara*.—Former capital of the same name in Rajputana, situated in 23° 33' N. and 74° 27' E., 42 miles from Namli and Ratlam stations on the Rajputana—Malwa Rly. It is bounded on the north by Partabgarh and Mewar, on the west by Dungarpur and Sunth, on the south by Jhalod and Jhabua and a portion of the Petlawad pargana of Indore and on the east by Sailana, Ratlam, and Partabgarh, (*Ibid* VI, pp. 407-13).

¹³² *Sagbara Peta*.—Taluka in the Broach District of Gujarat (*D. C. H.*), Broach (pp. 300-15).

in, and says that the rebels entered that place yesterday morning. The Mamlutdar decamped, and the Police and the Guicowar's Horse who were stationed there went over and joined the rebels. They (the Rebels) intended halting there for the day.

The Bheels have brought in a Elephant Sy. Rupees 161 were found on the driver and some pieces of cloth and silk on the Elephant.

No post has been in from Baroda for the last four days.

I have &c.
Sd/- R. M. Bonnor Lieutt,
Comg. at Dohud.

To the above I have added the following endorsement.

"What is written about the Police and the Guicowar horsemen is not to be depended on.

"A letter received here, dated the morning of the 8th from Jhalode itself states that the Police, and the Guicowar Horse, went away with the Mamlutdar, no doubt for their own security.

"Lieutenant Bonnor's informant appears to have fled at the same time but in a separate direction, to Dohud".

I have written to Lieutenant Browne, to deliver over to the Bheels who brought in the Elephant, the cash and the rest of the property found upon it as a present reward. I think also that they ought to receive something for the Elephant.

(Signed) R. Wallace,
Political Agent.

No. 37.—*Mr. Wallace sends to Major General Roberts of Godhra the Queen's Proclamation.*

Enclosure No. 2.

(p. 175).

To

Major General Roberts,

Godra, December 10th.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose a copy of a statement¹³³ made by Borah Surruf Ali Hyderbhve in consequence of which I have despatched him and Hyder Ali Abdool Raheem towards Wangor^{133a} with the Queen's Proclamation and letters in order that they may communicate them to the Rebel Force information

¹³³ *Vide P. D. Vol. No. 65 of 1858, pp. 177-79.*

^{133a} *Vangad.*—Village in Satnampur Taluka in Panch Mahal District in Gujarat. The nearest Rly. Station is Lunawara. (*D. C. H. Panchmahal*, pp. 412-15).

received last night that the Rebels plundered Jhallore on the 7th, and on the 8th marched off to Ghuree. This place is not distinctly known to the messenger who brought the news but I believe it to be in the territory of Chilkaree,¹³⁴ to the north and east of Jhallore, and that their destination is Doongurpoor¹³⁵—pray communicate this to Kheirwara.¹³⁶

(Signed) R. WALLACE,
Political Agent.

No. 38.—*The Ass'tt. Poll. Commissioner gives information about the movement of European forces and about surrender of the rebels.*

Enclosure No. 3.

(pp. 181-182)

Baroda, December 5/58.

My Dear Muter,

The Political Commissioner has desired me to write and say that 550 Europeans
2 Guns (European). will be in Baroda this evening from Tankaria.
200 Native Infantry. Captain Thompson with the force as per margin
140 Durbar Horse. will be at Jerrode this evening and Hallore
tomorrow morning.

Sir Richmond hopes you have opened Communication with Lieutt. Browne¹³⁷ Engineers at Dohud.

Of course you will keep a bright look out on the Goondnee and Soclooja parties.

If it was possible to get the Proclamation into the Camp of these broken Rebels it might do good, unfortunately there is not a single vernacular copy left here.

He further desires me to say you would do a more valuable service to Government if you got these 2,500 wretched creatures to submit on their lives being spared than if you cut up every man of them with your force.

¹³⁴ Chikhali.—Village in Santranpur Taluka, Panch Mahal District of Gujarat State. The nearest Rly. Station is Lunawada. (D.C.H. pp. 366-9).

¹³⁵ Dungarpur.—Former capital of the State and head-quarters of the Zila or District of the same name in Rajputana or Rajasthan, situated in 23° 51'N. and 73° 43'E. near Udepur. It is a Rly. Station on Western Rly. (I.G.I., XI, p. 385).

¹³⁶ Kherwara.—Cantonment included in the fifth or Mhow division of the Western Command of the Indian army and situated in 23° 59'N. and 73° 36'E. in the south-west corner of Udepur in Rajasthan. Kherwara was the head-quarters of the Mewar Bhil corps. A detachment operated against Tatya Tope's adherents in Banswara and Partapgarh and gained the Mutiny medal from the British Government. It consisted of eight companies and furnished detachments at Kotra Udepur city and the town of Dungarpur. (Ibid., XV, pp. 275-6).

¹³⁷ Browne, Clement Metcalfe.—Lieutenant in the Corps. of Engineers, Deptt. of Public Works, Season of Appit.—1855. Corps. Rank : 1st August 1854. (E.I.R., 1858, p. 33).

Of course every one who surrenders must give up his arms and property, but you may promise *Life and Liberty* to all except *those* who have actually murdered British subjects.

Yours sincerely,
 (Signed) W. WILSON,
 Ass'tt. Pol. Commr.

No. 39.—*The Government concurrence in the Pol. Commr.'s view that Capt. Muter's march towards Jhallore was very depressing.*

No. 4444 of 1858

(p. 183.)

Secret Department.

To

Brigadier General Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
 Political Commissioner,
 Guzerat.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 11th Instant No. 1636, with enclosures and to inform you that the Right Honourable the Govr. in Council concurs with you in considering it unfortunate that Captain Muter Commanding a Field Force, did not push on with greater celerity towards Jhallore.

B. C.
 22nd Decr. 1858.

(Id.) H. L. A.

No. 40.—*The Government receives information from Sir Shakespear about his orders to the troops to advance on Burra Udepur and also about the disheartened condition of the rebels.*

No. 1635 of 1858.

(pp. 185-8).

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
 Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

To

H. L. Anderson Esquire,
 Secretary to Government,
 Political Department, Bombay.

Dated Baroda, 11th December 1858.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 1630 of yesterday's date, I regret to find on looking over the Telegrams received from General Roberts that I have not done

him justice in saying that I did not know whether he could support the Morassa detachment.

2. I find on taking out the details from several late Telegrams that General Roberts has put 3 columns in motion all towards the line between Kheirwara and Godra.

Between Deesa and that line there are 2 separate Columns and between Ahmedabad and Kheirwara one Column.

3. In all he has set in motion the force, as per margin.

4. In addition to the above Captain Hayward with 400 Horse and 200 No.

2 Guns Europeans.

2 Guns Golundauze.

450 Europeans Infantry.

100 Native Infantry.

Foot, Irregulars, is moving on the line I ordered the 89th between Kheirwara and Godra. He was at Kheyaloo on the 9th Instant.

to Neemuch) the 89th wing (who were going

to be sent by Odepoor and as soon as possible (Id/-) E.

What will the Deesa force be about if it lets them slip through.

There must be a wing of the 33rd at Deesa, the 31st N. I. and a squadron of 2nd Cavly. & some guns.

5. I think the above arrangements will be sufficient to cut off the escape of any body of rebels towards Marwar on the side of the line above referred to but under positive orders from Lord Elphinstone the whole of the European Infantry and the 2 European Guns are directed to advance on Burra Oodeypoor.

6. If they proceed to that place through the Kheirwara Ghaut they will be acting in the right direction up to the 16th but it will be very sad if after they have entered the Ghauts towards Oodeypoor Tantia should pass behind them towards Marwar.

7. I have no later news than that of the 7th regarding the rebels on which date they were not up to Jhallore.

8. If a line is drawn through Rutlam parallel to the one from Kheirwara to Godra, it will intersect Mundesore,¹³⁸ Jowra, Rutlam and Bhopawur and I think it is quite certain that all four were strongly occupied before the 9th Instant, moreover that the Rutlam and Jowra forces were on that date in motion, the former on Jhallore, the latter on Banswara.

9. As we know a force to be at Neemuch and a column to be half way between Neemuch and Burra Oodeypoor, I cannot imagine that we could have any improvement upon such a combination.

10. At Jhallore there is a small Gurhee and the rebels are so disheartened that I do not think they will venture to attack it though they may plunder the town about it.

11. Still I confess it is very strange if my calculation of the weakness of the enemy is correct and if his cattle are so utterly unserviceable as I suppose, that we have not heard ere this of the final Catastrophe.

12. Either I am altogether mistaken as to the state of the cattle in the enemy's ranks or he must have been destroyed on the 9th Instant.

¹³⁸ *Mandasor*.—Formerly head-quarters of the District of the same name in Gwalior State, Central India or Madhya Pradesh, situated in 24° 4'N. and 75° 5'E. on the (Sewna or Sau) river. (*I. G. I.*, XVII, p. 150).

No. 41.—*Lieut. Roberts communicates the news, that the rebels seized Banswara and evacuated that place before the arrival of Major Wallace.*

(pp. 189-90).

Office No. 86 Service.

From Ahmedabad, Wednesday 15th December 10 night.	To Bombay Baroda and Poona.
From General Roberts.	To Lord Elphinstone, Sir R. Shakespear and Quarter Major General.

Words 303, S. R.

Kherwarra fourteen December number eighty-six, from Captain Annesley Political Agent Hilly tracts in Mewar. To Magaon To General Roberts Commanding field force Samlajee Political Agents Neemuch, Mhyee Kanta, and Rewa Kanta. Sir, I have the honor to forward for your information the following intelligence which reached me this night through the Maharaval of Doongurpoor.

The rebels surrounded and seized upon the city of Banswarra which they partially sacked. The date of their entry into Banswarra and the number of days they stopped there is one distinctly stated; but it appears on the twelfth instant improbable?

Major Wallace with a force arrived at Banswarra previous to which date the rebels had evacuated the place. Yesterday thirteenth they were at Aspeer and Boxeegaum villages were from twenty-six to thirty miles south-east of Boonglerpoor and on the high road from Banswarra to Saloombeer¹³⁹ to which latter place they are said to be going on the invitation of the Rawul of Saloombeer¹⁴⁰. The rebels are reported to be ten thousand in number but that I imagine is very much exaggerated. Three or four hundred of the Soolumbeer horsemen are stated to be with them, but this not authenticated. Colonel Boyle's force to which I will add two hundred of the Mewar, Bheel corps will be here I trust to morrow or at the furthest on the sixteenth. The troops with Major Wallace if advancing should be in this neighbourhood about the same time and a body which had left Neemuch to cover Oodeypore must tomorrow or next day be in position between us. They in this difficult country it must be impossible for the enemy to escape. Since writing the above intelligence has reached me of the rebels having marched this morning to Suloombeer.

¹³⁹ *Salumbur*.—Chief town of an estate of the same name in the State of Udepur in Rajasthan, situated in 24° 9' N. and 74° 3' E., about 40 miles south-east of Udepur city. (I.G.I., XXI, p. 414).

¹⁴⁰ *Rawat of Salumber*.—The Rawat of Salumber was the head of the Chondawat family of the Sesodia Rajputs and ranked fourth among the nobles of Mewar. For many years the Rawals of Salumber were the hereditary ministers (*bhanjaria*) of the State and their symbol, the lance, was always superadded to that of the Maharana on all deeds of grant (Raj. pp. 142-43).

No. 42.—*The Government suggest measures for destruction of Tatya Tope and his force.*

No. 4447 of 1858.

(pp. 191-92).

To

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear,
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, No. 1635, and to inform you that the R. H. G. C., fears from recent Telegrams you must be content with the credit, and it is great credit, of having saved Guzerat from the incursion of the rebels under Tantia Topee. The destruction of that leader and of his force is still to be accomplished.

2. I am at the same time desired to explain that in wishing a force to be sent without delay to Oodeypore, the R. H. G. C., did not intend to leave the road to Marwar to the South of Oodeypoor, open. If the rebels turned to the left from Jhallode on from Banswara, they must have been stopped by the force sent from Ahmedabad to Morassa, and failing this by the force at Deesa, before they could enter Marwar.

3. The R. H. G. C., considered it more likely that the rebels would go to Saloombur and Oodeypoor than to any other places, and the most recent Telegrams show that they are going in the direction of those places.

4. In conclusion I am desired to express the hope of His Lordship in Council that the Wing of H. M.'s 89th Regt. may get to Oodeypoor in time.

(Id/) H. L. A.

B. C.

22nd Decr. 1858.

No. 43.—*The Pol. Commr. informs Govt. of measures adopted to save Gujarat and Marwar from the enemy's penetration. He praises the proceedings of Brig Parke.*

No. 9992 of 1858.

(pp. 193-7)

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

To

H. L. Anderson Esquire,
Secretary to Government.

Dated Baroda 10th December 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to forward copy of a letter No. 92^{10a} of 8th Instant from Brigadier Parke, which reached me last night at 9-30 O'Clock.

It will be seen that the Brigadier advances both by Barreah and Baubra, and that he has moved up small column from Bhopawur to Jabbooa.

^{10a} *Vide* P. D. Vol. No. 65 of 1858, pp. 199-200.

2. I think these movements most judicious, my proceedings will be seen from the enclosures Nos. 1624^{140b} and 1625, I am trying to get the Ahmedabad Detachments advanced from Morassa to Beerpoor¹⁴¹ and Sameyra and to occupy Loonawarra¹⁴² and Godra from this.

3. A straight line drawn from Kheirwara to Godra nearly intersects all the places named, and completely cuts off the flight of the Rebels to the West, while the Edur force supports all the posts mentioned on this line.

4. A line drawn from Godra to direct East as far as Jabbooa, cuts off the retrograde movement of the Rebels to the South.

On this line we have Barrea, Dohud and Jabbooa all occupied with that brilliant Officer Brigadier Parke at Barrea this day.

5. For the other side of that triangle from Kheirwara to Jabbooa, I depend on the Malwa Troops. We know them to have been in great strength at Rutlam on the 5th and I trust they have advanced so far by this day as to almost have reached Jallode.

6. We know the enemy beyond a doubt plundered Simree¹⁴³ on the 6th and was expected by the Jallode Thanadar to reach his post the next day; within this triangle we have Captain Muter with the Force which advanced from Godra pressing steadily on the enemy's heels, and he was either at or very close to Jallode on the 7th.

7. In theory, Tantia Topee *must* inevitably have closed his career somewhere between Jallode and Rutlam yesterday or today.

8. But theory and practice are two very different things in war and it is quite possible for him to escape for still some days longer.

9. My doubt is the completeness of the line to shut off his escape to the West, both by Telegraph and by letter, I have done my utmost to get the Ahmedabad and Deesa Troops moved up to that line, but it was only yesterday that I heard a Detachment had been withdrawn from that important post. Sameyra, as far back as the 4 Instant, I signalled to General Roberts begging him to send a Force to Morassa. He has moved a force there, but whether he can advance it further or not or whether the case supports it I do not know. He is very weak in Infantry and has no Cavalry. He forgets how dreadfully the journeys through the wilderness from Oodeypoor, after their flight must have crippled the cattle of the enemy and calculates in his Telegram of yesterday (copy annexed)^{143a} that, as the Rebels were on the 5th at Simree, they must on the 9th be 100 miles off.

^{140b} *Ibid*, p. 201.

¹⁴¹ *Birpur*.—Town in Kaira District Gujarat. (*D.C.H.* Kaira, p. 355).

¹⁴² *Lunavada*.—Formerly capital of the State of the same name in the Rewa Kantha Agency, Bombay and now in the Gujarat State situated in 23° 8'N. and 73° 39'E. about 4 miles east of the confluence of the Mahi and Panam rivers. (*I. G. I.* XVI, p. 211).

¹⁴³ *Simli*.—Village near Kapadvanj Rly. Station in Bayad Taluka of the Sabarkantha District of Gujarat State. (*D. C. H.* Sabarkantha, pp. 144-5).

^{143a} *Vide* P. D. Vol. No. 65 of 1858, pp. 205-6.

10. So far from this being in their power they are hardly able to move at all, and their ultimate destruction I consider to be reduced to a certainty. Of course Tantia Topee and ten or twelve well mounted men may break through the line but out of the four thousand who invaded Guzerat on the 1st at Oodeypoor, I do not think a hundred men will escape out of the Province.

11. I annex a sketch explanatory of the above details.

12. The Troops at Godra and at Sonkheira have not fired a single shot, but their presence has done more to destroy the enemy than would have been effected by three ordinary victories : his Force consisted entirely of Cavalry, he had no Commissariat, he was driven through the most deadly jungle and least populated portion of the Province. Destructive as the journey has been to him, he has been unable to do injury to any one place of note in the Province. Even a small Detachment with the Political Agent passing along his line of flight would be unable to find any supplies except at Barrea without previous arrangement.

13. The information in the City is that Tantia fled for Baubra before Brigadier Parke's arrival & that the Party which went to Barrea alone took a share in the action.

14. Tantia is evidently a man of most wonderful ability, but his courage has failed him on every occasion, just when courage was required for the success of his admirable designs.

15. Whatever may be the result of our present manoeuvres in this quarter the credit of success should rest with Brigadier Parke. The pursuit of that officer is the most brilliant feat that I have read or heard of.

No. 43.—*The Pol. Commr's. instructions to Capt. Thompson, Comdg., Field Detachment at Godhra.*

Enclosure No. 3 to above letter.

(pp. 203-204).

Memorandum of Instructions to Captain Thompson (or in his absence the Officer) Commanding Field Detachment at Godra.

Dated Baroda 9th December 1858, 10 P.M.

Brigadier Parke will be at Barria tomorrow the tenth Instant, and on the next day 100 European Infantry of Her Majesty's 33rd Regiment will arrive at Godra.

On arrival of Europeans at Godra, Captain Thompson's force should move to Loonawara, through Leyrah ; but should Captain Thompson have taken one Company Native Infantry to Barriah, the remainder of the force must remain at Godra, the whole to comply with any orders Brigadier Parke may send.

The Company Europeans to remain at Godra until their tents arrive.

These orders to be communicated to Major Wallace, who is requested in the absence of any requisition from Brigadier Parke to move the troops above referred to in any way he thinks best.

(Signed) R. C. Shakespear Brigr. Genl.,
Political Commissioner, Guzerate and
Resident at Baroda.

No. 45.—A map indicating the plan of the movements of British forces, in Gujarat (Enclosure to above letter).

North
C Eder
○ Kherwara
○ Su meja
○ Morassa
○ Befrija
○ Loonawara
○ Seyreh
○ Godra
○ Barreah
○ Babrah
○ Jab' oah
○ Dohind
○ Leen ^{re}te
○ Jil. ^{alode}
○ Rutlam
(p. 207).

Scale—20 miles to the Inch.

Sd R. Shakespeare
Pol. Commissr.
○ deyp ur.

No. 46.—*The Government compliment to the Pol. Commr. for his foresight and energy which protected Gujarat from the rebels.*

No. 4448 of 1858.

(pp. 209-10).

Secret Department.

To

Brigadier Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner, Guzerat,
Baroda.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter with enclosures, dated the 10th instant No. 1630, and to inform you in reply that the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council regards the movements by which Guzerat has been protected from the rebels, as highly creditable to your foresight and energy.

2. The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council would wish, however, to be informed whether it was absolutely necessary to bring the Wing of H. M.'s 89th Regiment from Deesa, the Wing being under orders for Oodeypore, and move them so far south as Morassa. His Lordship in Council fears that by making this great circuit, the best chance of the Detachment reaching Oodeypore before the rebels, has been lost.

B. C.

22nd Decr. 1858.

(Id.) H. L. A.

No. 47.—*Stratton reports Sir Shakespear's visit to Ratanpur and Sankheda to guard against the possible effect of the withdrawal of Capt. Collier and detachment from Chota Udepur and to prevent possibility of a retrograde movement of British forces. He acquaints the intelligence received from Sir Shakespear at Ratanpur about the attack of Naikadas at Jambughora and their plundering of the Gaikwar village in Sankheda.*

No. 1708

(pp. 225-8).

From

J. P. Stratton Esqre.,
Offic^g. Asstt. Resdt.

To

H. L. Anderson Esqre.,
Secretary to Govt., Pol. Dept., Bombay.

Baroda 22nd Dec. 1858.

Sir,

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. C. Shakespear, Resident and Political Commissioner accompanied by his Assistant Political Commissioner Captain Wilson having yesterday evening proceeded to Ruttonpoor and Sonkhera, I have the honor in obedience to his orders to write in continuation of his letter to you No. 1706 of yesterday's date.

2. Sir R. Shakespear desired me to explain that his chief object in personally going out was to guard against the possible effect of the withdrawal of Captain Collier and Detachment from Chota Oudeypore bringing as it appeared exaggerated reports of the strength of the enemy; upon the Detachment (referred to in para. 9 of yesterday's letter) under Major Vacher at Sonkhera, which might thereby also have been to fall back.

Sir R. Shakespear was most anxious to prevent the possibility of a retrograde movement from Sonkhera and the bad effects which would have followed such a step in the city of Baroda and surrounding country.

3. He therefore, although not believing in the reported strength of the enemy, resolved on personally going out to Sonkhera and also taking there the force from Baroda named in para. 8 of yesterday's letter as being ordered to Ruttonpore, but with the view of keeping up confidence in the city, the force marched from this merely under orders for Ruttonpore and it was not publicly known that both he and it were to advance during the night from that place towards Sonkhera.

4. This immediate onward movement of the Ruttonpore force was finally resolved on in order to anticipate at Sonkhera the possible arrival there of any Rebel force from the East; and also trusting to the speedy advance from Broach to Baroda of 4 guns of K. Battery and 150 European Drafts which force Sir R. had ordered to reach here during tonight, so that Baroda would be only today actually demanded of artillery.

The whole of K. Battery has not got across the Nerbudda at Broach so quickly as was expected but 2 guns and the Europeans started last night for Baroda and will probably be here during this night.

The movement through the City yesterday afternoon of the force towards Ruttonpore as described in para. 8 of yesterday's letter is said to have had a very good effect in giving confidence.

5. Late yesterday evening I received a note from Sir R. C. Shakespear written from Ruttonpore enclosing for transmission to you a demi official note he had received from Major Vacher dated Sonkhera 8 a.m. yesterday morning reporting that he had just been joined by Captain Collier from Chota Oudeypore and referring to the intelligence thence brought by the latter officer.

I enclose Major Vacher's note as directed by Sir R. who expected to be at Sonkhera by day-light to day, and to have the Ruttanpore force up there by 10 o.c. this evening by which time he felt sure that the Rebels could not reach Sonkhera.

6. Up to noon today no further news from Chota Oudeypore has reached Baroda.

7. The Naikras are becoming more troublesome. They attacked on the 12th inst. a Company of Husain Khan's¹⁴⁴ levies which was retiring on

¹⁴⁴ *Hussain Khan Battangi*.—Mr. Ashburner, Assistant Magistrate of Kaira, was ordered to raise a force of 200 Foot and 300 Horse for the protection of his districts, and Hussain Khan Battangi, a gentleman of Ahmedabad, was authorized to enlist 2,000 of the dangerous classes. (B.G. Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 439).

account of sickness from Jambooghora, killing one and wounding several. They plundered on the same night a Gaekwar village in the Sonkhera Pergunnah and their excesses in the Hallore Pergunnah are reported by Major Wallace to be on the increase. Lieutenant Bonner was to move from Godra to Hallore.

I understand that Major Wallace remains for the present at Godra and that Captain Buckle has proceeded to Barriah.

No. 48.—*Mr. Stratton communicates to Government about the falsity of the report given by the Rajah of Chota Udepur that the rebels have crossed Narmada. He reports that Sir Shakespear occupied Chota Udepur and placed force in Sankheda and acquaints the news of Tatya Tope's flight.*

(pp. 235-37).

No. 1712 of 1858

From

J. P. Stratton,
Offg. Asstt. Resident.

To.

H. L. Anderson Esquire,
Secretary to Government,
Political Department, Bombay.

Dated Baroda 23rd December 1858.

Sir,

I, this morning by Sir. R. C. Shakespear's order despatched the following Telegram : "From Sir R. C. Shakespear, dated Camp Sonkhera 22nd December 1858 9-30 a.m.

"To Bombay, Ahmedabad and Indore.

"The Raja of Chota Oodeypoor writes at 3 afternoon yesterday saying that people of his own have been to Kooksee¹⁴⁵ and ascertained beyond doubt that the whole report of rebels having crossed Nerbudda is altogether false *not a man* having crossed.

"I shall occupy Oodeypore with 2 Guns and a Detail of European and Native Infantry."

2. I have the honour by Sir R. Shakespear's direction to enclose^{145a} a translation of the letter from the Potedar of the Chota Oodeypore State to the Gaekwar Officials at Sonkhera, dated 21st Instant, giving more detailed particulars than communicated in the above Telegram.

3. In addition to occupying Chota Oodeypore, Sir R. Shakespear also places a force, European and Native in Sonkhera.

¹⁴⁵ *Kukshi*.—Formerly head-quarters of the purgana of the same name in Dhar, Madhya Pradesh, situated in 22° 13' N, and 74° 48' E. (*I.G.I.*, XVI, p. 12).

^{145a} *Vide* P. D. Vol. No. 65 of 1858, pp. 239-40.

4. I enclose copy of a letter^{145b}, without number dated Godra yesterday 10 a.m. from Major Wallace, giving the substance of news brought by a Moollah (Mulla)¹⁴⁶ of the Borahs, from Rutlam, to the effect that "Tantia Topee's force had taken refuge in some Hills near Banswara,¹⁴⁷ and the Raja had followed them with a large body of Bheels, which had been put in co-operation with the column which marched from Ahmedabad and the report at Rutlam was that the Rebels had been completely surrounded."

This was the report in Rutlam, on the 16th, now a week ago.

From the same letter also, it will be seen that up to the 20th no news of any rebels coming to Ali Rajpore, had reached either Barriah or Dohud.

5. Sir R. Shakespear returns to Baroda this afternoon.

No. 49.—*The Pol. Commr. expresses regrets for the failure in destroying rebel forces within the Province of Gujarat and States, the proposed movements of troops.*

No. 1647 of 1858.

(pp. 245-46)

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner, Guzerat.

To

H. L. Anderson Esquire,
Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Dated Baroda, 13th December 1858.

Sir,

I am very sorry to have to forward the enclosed copy of letter from Captain Muter Commanding Field Detachment, dated 11th Instant, from Jhalode, and of a note appended to it by Major Wallace Political Agent in the Rewa Kaunta, through whom it reached me dated Godra 12th instant 9 p.m. from which it will be seen that contrary to what I had expected we have not had the honor to capture or destroy the Rebel forces within the Province of Guzerat.

2. Although the Malwa Forces had not advanced as I had anticipated so as to turn the rebels, still, with the certain information, that a column was at Rutlam on the 5th & another at Jowra on the 7th instant I cannot but suppose that efficient arrangements must have been made for their reception on their re-entering Malwa and their destruction, from the very distressed condition they are stated to be in cannot I think be far distant.

3. I have directed all troops in Rewa Kanta to place themselves at Brigadier Parke's disposal, & I have proposed by Telegram to General Roberts and

^{145b} *Vide* P. D. Vol. No. 65 of 1858, pp. 241-42.

¹⁴⁶ *Mulla*.—A Mohmmadan lawyer or learned man, a judge, a magistrate, school-master. (Wilson, pp. 564-5).

¹⁴⁷ *Banswara Town*.—Formerly capital of the State of the same name in Rajputana or present Rajasthan State. (I. G. I., VI, p. 413).

Lord Elphinstone to advance the Head Quarters H. M.'s 33rd and 2 Guns from this to Godra in support of that Officer.

P. S. It will be seen by the enclosed copy of letter from Major Wallace dated Godra 11th instant that Captain Muter for what reason I do not know went to Dohud from Peoplode instead of direct to Jhallode.

No. 50.—*Capt. Muter reports to Sir Shakespear the arrival of his force and the plundering of Limbree and Jhulode by the rebels and the movements of the rebels in Gujarat at different places.*

Enclosure to the above letter.

(pp. 247-49)

Camp Jhallode.

11th December 1858.

To

Sir Richmond Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

Sir,

The force under my command arrived here yesterday evening at $7\frac{1}{2}$ O'clock from Dohud.

The Rebels I am informed left this on the morning of the 8th Instant. They plundered Limbree¹⁴⁸ on the 7th and the same day entered Jhallode plundered it, and remained during the night.

They are to-day at Banswarra I march from this at 3 O'clock P.M. and will most likely reach that place tomorrow morning.

I am weak in Cavalry. If I possibly could be reinforced by two hundred of the Guzerat Horse, I think I would be able to give a good account of the Rebel Force.

From the information, I received here, they appear to be about Five thousand men (*Cavalry*). I expected to have had Captain Thompson's force in my rear, to reinforce me in case of their being too strong.

I respectfully suggest that a small force be pushed on to Jhallode *via* Pimplode and Dhoodia¹⁴⁹. The Bheels are very troublesome here, and have plundered in concert with the Rebels.

P.S. I have urged Captain Thompson to join me by forced marches. This I know cannot be done without your sanction but I trust you will agree with me that it is necessary. My march on Banswara will be Twenty-five koss.

¹⁴⁸ *Limdi*.—A village near Dohad Rly. Station in Jhalod Taluka of the Panch Mahal District, Gujarat State. (*D. C. H. Panchmahals*, pp. 248-51).

¹⁴⁹ *Dhedia*.—A village near Dohad Rly. Station in Jhalod Taluka of the Panch Mahals District of Gujarat. (*Ibid*, pp. 240-43).

No. 51.—*Major Wallace communicates about movements of Brig. Parke who will be at Shehra.*

Enclosure to the above letter.

(pp. 249-50)

To

My dear Sir Richmond,

I have communicated this to Brigadier Parke who will be at Shehra¹⁵⁰ tomorrow morning.

Captain Muter can never reach Banswara in the time he mentions, neither can he have any Cavalry nor Thompson's Detachment.

Brigadier Parke has sent in his two guns which are disabled and will take up the two guns with Thompson's detachment. Buckle also and Bonnor are here, the former goes on to join Parke tomorrow.

9 P. M.

12th December,
Godra.

No. 52.—*The arrival of Brig. Parke at Barriah and that the rebels' departure from Jhallore for Chilkaree, Capt. Muter's departure for Jhallore to attack the rebels,—are the news items mentioned in this letter.*

Enclosure to the above letter.

(pp. 251-53).

To

Sir R. Shakespear,
Political Commr., Guzerat.

Camp Godra, Decem. 11, 1858.

Sir,

Brigadier Parke arrived at Barreeah yesterday evening but his guns had not arrived at 8 p.m. when his messenger left, he expresses a want of baggage Camels & fortunately 140 spare Camels en route to Malwa were waiting here, they were sent over before his letter was received & would be at Peepplode this morning of which he had been informed, so that he might order them in or make a short march this day to them.

Information received yesterday evening from Loonawara and Soonte¹⁵¹ decided me to forward Captn. Thompson's detachment to the former place where it will be tomorrow morning, the rebels can make Soonte in a forced march from Chilkaree in case, fleeing turned by the advance of any troops from Rutlam, & Sooraj mull, a Loonawara Baherwuttia is said to be hovering about the frontier. Under these circumstances, I could not wait for Brig. Parke's wishes but, I am glad to find that he had already approved of the movement.

¹⁵⁰ *Shehra*.—Taluka in Panch Mahal District of Guzerat. It is a Rly. Station on W. Rly. (D.C.H., pp. 420-35).

¹⁵¹ *Sunth (Santrampur)*.—The head-quarters of the Sunth, a petty State in Rewa Kantha. It is in the north-east of Rewa Kantha, lies between 22° 55' and 23° 33' and 73° 45' and 74° 10' E. (I. G. I., XXIII, p. 146).

One hundred of H. M. 33rd arrived here from Baroda last night about 10½ P.M. They are located in some vacant pendalls till their tents & ca. arrive.

The hundred riding Camels for the Mhow Force are to be here on the 18th from Deesa. I have informed Brigadier Parke of this.

No news of the rebels since their leaving Jhallode for Chilkaree has been received.

Since writing the above, I have heard that Captain Muter did not proceed to Jhallode, as I had been led to expect he would have done in direct pursuit of the rebels but marched on Dohud which place he reached on the evening of the 8th & marched again on the morning of the 10th for Jhallode intending to attack the rebels who were said to be halted on the Annas river¹⁵², having been checked in that direction by the Rao of Koosulgurh¹⁵³ who had blocked up the road. As the rebels left Jhallode on the morning of the 8th it is extremely improbable that they will be found by Captain Muter on the Annas river on the evening the 11th which I calculate will be the earliest that he can arrive there.

No. 53.—*Shakespear reviews events that saved Gaikwar's territories from the enemy's penetration and states that the rebels intended to possess Baroda and upset the Government but actually they could never enter the territory of Gaikwar for the vigorous pursuit of Brig. Parke, who defeated them at Chota Udepur and suffered a loss of baggage, stores and etc. and Tatya fled to Babra before the arrival of Brig. Parke.*

No. 55.

(pp. 265-71)

From

Brigadier General Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,

To

G. F. Edmonstone¹⁵⁴ Esquire,

Secretary to Government,

with the Right Hon'ble the Viceroy and Governor General,
Allahabad.

Baroda Residency, 13th December 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit copy of my letter No. 1191 of dated 28th ultimo to the Brigadier Commanding at Baroda.

¹⁵² *Anas*.—The chief tributary of the river Mahi. The river Anas enters into Banswara in the South and flows first in a northerly direction forming the boundary with Jhalod, and next west, the total course in or along the border of Banswara being about 50 miles. (*J.G.I. VI*, p. 407).

¹⁵³ *Rao of Kushalgarh*.—Since about 1783, the chief of Kushalgarh had been called as the Rao of Kushalgarh, paying a tribute to Banswara. The family belonged to the Rathor clan of Rajputs. The Rao's position was like that of a mediatised or guaranteed feudatory. He paid tribute to Banswara through, and corresponded direct with the Assistant to the Resident in Mewar. (*Raj.* pp. 152-53).

¹⁵⁴ *Edmonstone George Frederick*.—Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Deptt. He was a second class Civil Servant appointed in 1830. (*E. I. R.*, 1858, pp. 2-6).

2. You will have heard by Telegraph the rapid succession of events in this neighbourhood since the invasion of the province of Guzerat by Tantia Topee, on the 1st instant.

3. The rebels never actually entered any portion of Gaikwar Territory but their object was to get possession of Baroda and to upset the Gaikwar's Govt. and they would have placed us in the most serious difficulty but for the vigorous pursuit of Brigr. Parke.

4. This Officer brought his force from the Nerbudda 112 miles in 4 days. The rebels always kept our march ahead of him, but at Chota Oodeypore they heard of a force I had sent from Baroda to meet them and they hesitated as to their future movements long enough to enable Brigr. Parke to close with them. He defeated them with great slaughter and broke them into several parties.

5. Most unfortunately one of the broken parties wheeled round and fell on his Baggage.

The loss of equipments and stores and even carriage Cattle was so great that Brigr. Parke was compelled to halt at Chota Oodeypoor until stores and tents & ca. could be sent from this to refit his force.

6. Tantia Topee is said to have fled on the first instant from Oodeypoor before Brigr. Parke arrived, he made for Baubra, direct north of Oodeypoor and the largest column of his men who were engaged took a rather westerly direction to Barreah.

7. The whole of the rebels wandered through the hilly track covered with dense jungle during the 2nd and 3rd and on the 4th they after threatening both Godra and Baroda, effected a junction at a place called Peplode about 6 miles North of Bareeah on the main road between Godra & Dohud.

At that spot they appear to have taken the desparate resolution of again advancing on Baroda.

8. Directly I heard of their crossing the Nerbudda (on 27th ultimo) and saw that their route was towards Guzerat, I requested Major General Roberts Commanding the N. D. Army to move a force to Godra. It arrived there on the 4th and the next day Tantia Topee advanced towards that place after collecting his scattered Troops.

9. He had advanced but a short distance when, as at Chota Oodeypoor, the discovery that arrangements had been made in anticipation of his approach not only checked him but completely changed the whole of his designs.

He started at once for the North East by Jhallore but the pursuit by our Trrops at Godra was delayed by circumstances which have not as yet been enquired into:

10. The consequence is that on the 9th of this month, although the Rao of Khooshalgarh is stated to have broken up the road and assembled his Bheels, the rebels past the Annas river which is the boundary, with impunity, and our last. information is that they were at Banaswarra on the 11th of this month the Godra detachment being on that date at Jhallore.

11. The stores and camp equipage sent from this did not reach Brigadier Parke till the 7th, and on that day the enemy whom he was pursuing had plundered Jhallore 75 miles in advance of his position.

It is obvious that a pursuit undertaken under such circumstances could hardly be expected to be successful.

12. Brigadier Parke only reached Rowah*¹⁵⁵ on the evening of the 10th and his force was so exhausted by the difficult jungle country through which his route passed that he found himself compelled to halt on the 11th and I have just heard that his two Guns are so disabled by the badness of the road as to be unfit for further service.

13. On the 4th when I felt convinced that the main body of the enemy was making for the north I moved a second Detachment as per margin from Baroda

2 Guns x Royal Battery. to Godra, and after the first force at
200 Native Infantry. the latter place moved towards Jhallore, the Political agent in the

Reva Kanta occupied with this second force the important position of Loonawara.

14. The result of those operations was that the enemy was unable to penetrate into the province of Guzerat, either West or South of Godra and was compelled, by the strength of the country immediately North of him to take North-Easterly direction towards Rutlam.

15. When putting the troops in motion from Ahmedabad and Baroda, I signalled to Indore and heard that considerable columns were on the 5th at Rutlam, on the 7th at Jowra and a few days later a force at Mundesore.

Each change in the enemy's position has been carefully signalled to Bombay and Indore and I was very confident, that when frustrated in his attempt on this province and forced to pass through all the most difficult and harassing portion on the frontier he would fall an easy prey to the Forces advancing from Malwa.

16. But there appears to have been some mistake. We have positive information of the enemy being at Banswara on the 11th which is only 45 miles from both Rutlam and Jowra, but we have not yet heard by Telegram or letter, of any advance from either of those places.

17. The enclosed copy of translation of a statement of a man who was seized by the rebels and carried some distance will show how utterly they were disheartened and broken and how easy would have been their *destruction*.

18. I have the honor to forward copy of my letter as Political Commissioner in Guzerat No. 1553 of date 5th instant to Captain Buckle, Assistant Political Agent in the Rewa Kanta, which will show that I have not failed to do my utmost to make known the proclamation of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen.

Similar instructions were sent by me to the other Political Agents subordinate to me as Political Commissioner, Guzerat, and the man whose evidence is given

¹⁵⁵ *Rewah Town*.—Former capital of the State of the same name in Central India, and head-quarters of the Huzur tahsil, situated in 24° 32' N. and 81° 18' E. 31 miles by metalled road from Satna on the Jabalpur Allahabad (B. G.) Main line on Central Rly. (*Cen. Ind.*, p. 418).

in Enclosure No. 2 above, was sent with a respectable person back to the Camp of the rebels to explain the proclamation.

19. In reviewing the occurrences of the past eventful fortnight, I can look back with satisfaction to having saved the whole of the Gaekwar's Territory, without a single exception, from inroad. Also all Territory belonging to the British Government has been protected from insult or invasion. All that is valuable in the province has escaped from this sudden inroad of rebels. They have been forced to pass entirely through the wilds of Rewa Kanta on the Eastern frontier of Guzerat.

The only town of any note that has suffered severely from the plunders, is Scindiah's town of Jhalodge, which was plundered on the 8th Instant, after which they crossed the Annas river and proceeded to Banswara in Malwa.

20. As the Malwa columns did not advance to the Frontier, of course, I have been disappointed in my hope of capturing the rebels in this Province, but they are so shattered and disheartened, that their destruction would appear to be inevitable.

No. 54.—*The Pol. Commr. informs Maj. Genl. Roberts about breaking of rebels between Burway and Burhanpur and of their having gone towards Kurgaon, that Brig. Hill surprised and routed a rebel party in the valley of the Taptee. He also describes the movement of forces as designed by him.*

No. 1683 of 1858.

(pp. 299-303).

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner, Guzerat.

To

Major General Roberts,
Commanding N. D. A.,
Ahmedabad.

Dated Baroda 17th December 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that a little after midnight, I received a Telegram giving information from Sir H. Rose, copy enclosed, of a party of about 800 Rebels having broken through the Cordon between Burway¹⁵⁶ and Bhurhanpoor¹⁵⁷ and of their having gone towards Kurgaon.

2. The pertinacity with which they are following on Tantia's track leads me to suppose that they will like him endeavour to enter this Province at Chota Oodeypoor.

¹⁵⁶ *Barur or Warud.*—Town in the Morsi taluka of Amraoti District, Berar, situated in 21° 10' N. and 78° 7' E. The name Barur is given by the Musalmans. (I. G. I., XXIV, p. 378).

¹⁵⁷ *Burhanpur.*—Former head-quarters of the tahsil of the same name, Nimar District, Central Provinces, in 21° 18' N. and 76° 14' E. Now it is an industrial town in Madhya Pradesh. (*Ibid.*, IX, pp. 104-6).

3. Though this party is only about 800 strong still we have heard of as many as 55,000 having followed in Tantia's course to the Taptee, and on the 13th Instant the Resident at Indore signalled to me that Brigadier Hill was reported to have surprised and routed a party of the Rebels in the valley of the Taptee.

4. As Brigadier Parke was at Kurgaon on the 24th of last month, and reached Chota Oodeypore on the 1st Instant as from the Telegram now forwarded, it would appear that the 800 Rebels were at or near Kurgaon on the 16th, we must be prepared to expect them at Oodeypoor any day after the 22nd of this month.

5. It is true they may not come this way at all, but it is also obvious that we ought to be prepared for their arrival.

6. Under the above circumstances I have made the following arrangements :—

1st Captain Collier with 200 N. I. has been directed to march with as little delay as possible from Sonkheira to Chota Oodeypoor and he has been told that according to the information given by Lieutt. Newton who was with Brigadier Parke, it would be possible by felling trees in their front and in their rear to enclose a body of Horse in the Gorge which leads directly into Oodeypoor.

2nd Captain Collier is to leave a Detail of about 40 Guzerat Irregular Horse at Sonkheira and about 25 Gaekwar Horse at Makhanee.

3rd 100 European infantry will march from this with orders to reach Sonkheira on the 21st if possible.

4th 300 Europeans Details ought to reach Broach tomorrow 150 will remain there until the arrival of K. Battery which duly left Surat yesterday. The remaining 150 will come on to Baroda, and on their arrival here I will either push them on to Ahmedabad or send the Head Quarters Her Majesty's 33rd Regiment.

5th I will move 100 Europeans from this to Hullore.

6th I have asked Major Wallace to occupy from the force* now at Godhra 250 Euro, the important posts of Jallode and Barriah. Infantry 2 Guns European.

7th Captain Thompson with 200 Native Infantry will remain at Loonawala.

7. I wish I could have had the benefit of your opinion before making these arrangements but you will see from the dates mentioned, that there was not time to make a reference and receive a reply by post and the operations are too complicated to be discussed by Telegram.

8. I shall be glad to hear that you approve of my measures.

9. I hope you will be able to keep up a Field Force at Morassa and I will signal to Kaira to have Balasinore¹⁵⁸ strengthened by a body of the very efficient Police of that district.

¹⁵⁸ *Balasinor (Vadasinor).*—Chief town of the former State of the same name in the Rewa Kantha Agency, Bombay, situated in 22° 59' N. and 73° 25' E. near the Shehdli river near Ahmedabad. Presently it is a Taluka in the Kaira District of Gujarat. (*I. G. I.*, VI, pp. 235-6).

No. 55.—*Major Wallace reports the details of the events that occurred in Rewa Kantha since the rebels entered the Udepur territories on 29th ultimo and the emissaries dispatched with the Queen's Proclamation to make it known in the rebels' camp at Sagwara.*

No. 695 of 1858.

(pp. 307-10)

From

Major R. Wallace
Political Agent, Rewa Canta.

To

H. L. Anderson, Esquire,
Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Rewa Canta Agency,

Camp Godra 14 December 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to report for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council the events that have occurred in Rewa Canta since the rebels entered the Oodeypoor Territory on the 29th ultimo.

2. The Raja of Oodeypoor was on that day absent from his capital, taking the Jumabundy of his Districts. On hearing of their approach however, he returned home to afford what protection it was in his power to his family and shut the gates of his small Fort in which his palace is situated.

3. On the 30th the rebels arrived at Oodeypoor and plundered the town which however consists of little more than a small Bazar and the houses of the Raja's dependents. At day break on the morning of the 1st Brigadier Parke surprised, and dispersed the rebels in all direction. Small parties of them fled to the South and South-West and several of them were made prisoners at Jubboogaum in the act of plunder, by a detachment which had marched from Baroda.

4. A considerable body with Tantia Topey and the person called the Rao Saheb, arrived at Deoghur Barriah about 9 O'clock the following morning in a state of considerable exhaustion—other flying parties also traversed the Barriah Jungles in various directions searching for their main body.

5. The principal part of the rebel Force however, with all their Elephants but one, doubled back on the first alarm and made their way through the heavy Jungle Eastward to Bhabhra where they also arrived on the 2nd thence made their way in the direction of Deoghur Barriah until the whole of them were reassembled on the 5th at Peoplode. In the interim the party from Deoghur Barriah had united with other parties of fugitives and made a movement to the South West threatening Hallore and that road to Baroda. These however returned on the 5th to Peoplode as I have before stated. On the 6th they began to retrograde in the direction of Jhallore leaving however a covering party at Peoplode and on the afternoon of that day Captain Muter's Detachment advanced from Godra, reached Peoplode 22 miles on the 7th and on the

Evening of the 8th arrived at Dohud by which time the rebels had plundered Jhalode and Leemree and had marched to the Eastern bank of the Annas river where they were halted all the 9th, the Rao of Koosulgurh having offered some resistance to their passage eastward through his territory and probably also in consequence of the rebels hearing that there was a Force at Rutlam. Captain Muter left Dohud on the morning of the 10th and reached Jhalode that Evening and the latest information I have received of his movements, is that he was to march towards Banswarra in the afternoon of the 11th.

6. Brigadier Parke's column arrived at Barriah on the Evening of the 11th, marched to Loonawarra yesterday and will probably be at Kudana¹⁵⁹ today. Whither Captain Thompson's Detachment had proceeded from this place, Brigadier Parke's guns were sent to Ahmedabad this morning and he will, I believe take with him the guns belonging to Captain Thompson's Detachment.

7. I despatched Emissaries from this place on the 10th with the Queen's Proclamation in order to make it known in the rebel's Camp. From them, I have heard that on the 11th the rebels were at Sagwarra¹⁶⁰ west of Banswarra and that they hoped to be able to communicate with them the following day.

8. I regret to say that, the passage of the rebels through these districts has caused great disorganization as might have been expected where so large a part of the population consists of the turbulent classes.

No. 56---*The Bombay Government express their confidence about Sir Shakespear who restored order in the districts through which the rebels had passed, and resolve to acknowledge the conduct of the Rao of Khushalgarh in resisting the rebels.*

(Vide Remark No. 10146 of 18th, 25th December 1858 on p. 310).

No. 57---*Major Wallace acquaints Sir Shakespear that the rebels entered Scindia's Purgana of Jhalode, plundered the force of Limdi and inflicted a great loss of property at Jhalode; the Mamlatdar with other officers escaped in the dark and Jhalode was reoccupied.*

No. 694 of 1858.

(pp. 319-21)

From

Major R. Wallace,
Political Agent Rewa Kanta.

To

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Resident at Baroda.

Rewa Canta Agency.

Camp . Godra, 14th December 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to report that the rebel Force entered Scindia's Pergunna of Jhalode on the 6th Instant and plundered the Town of Leemree on the

¹⁵⁹ *Kudana*.—A village near Lunawada Rly. Station in Santrampur Taluka, Panch-Mahal District of Gujarat State.

¹⁶⁰ *Sagbara*.—A village near Kavdi Rly. Station in Sagbara Peta Taluka, Broach District, Gujarat State.

day following they entered and plundered the Town of Jhallode inflicting great injury and loss of property on the inhabitants of those places.

2. At Jhallode there is a small Fort with two gates and within it at the time, there were 20 horsemen belonging to the Guicowar's contingent of the Pagah of Nuwab of Heesamodeen Hoosein Khan, 22 men of the Punch Mahal Police, and 35 of the district Seebundy, of the two former bodies all with the exception of two horsemen have gone over to the enemy. From several reports that I receive it appears that the rebels desired the gates to be opened which was at first refused. In the course of the day however Elahibux the Jemedar of the Pagah of the Guicowar's horse, together with several of the Punch Mahal Police went out and had a conference with the Enemy, after their return they told the Mamlutdar and others that, they had made an arrangement but from this time the rebels placed a guard over each of the Gates outside and deliberately plundered the Town shortly after most of the Police and Guicowar Horsemen left the Fort and did not return. In the evening the rebels again called for the gates to be opened, when the remaining Police proceeded to do so and the Seebundy, the Mamlutdar and other officers made their escape in the dark. The Seebundy reported themselves at Dohud the next morning.

3. The rebels carried away about 2,000 Rupees out of the Treasure chest and destroyed the records and other furniture of the Kutcherry. The Horsemen and Police carried away their arms and ammunition and those who had families, carried them also with them and no doubt, they have entered into the service of the rebels.

4. Jhallode was reoccupied on the 9th by a small party of the Seebundy from Dohud, but the District of which the principal population are Bheels, is in a state of great disorganization.

No. 58.—Sir Shakespear states that a force of rebels was seen making for Barauni on the Narmada. He regrets over Capt. Collier's withdrawal from Chois Udepur which resulted in the flight of the Udepur Raja. Sir Shakespear also informs about the servants of Barriah Durbar colluding with the rebels.

No. 1706 of 1858.

(pp. 325-30)

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear,
Pol. Commissioner in Guzerat.

To

H. L. Anderson, Esquire,
Secretary to Government,
Bombay.

Baroda, Decr. 21st, 58.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that yesterday evening I received a Telegram from Sir H. Rose mentioning that a body between 2 and 300 rebels, had been observed by one of his patrolling parties between the Nerbudda and Taptee

passing near Rajpore¹⁶¹ on the 16th and making for Burwani (Barauni)¹⁶² on the Nerbudda.

2. A few hours afterwards, I received vernacular papers from Chota Oodeypore, copies of which are herewith annexed.

3. It will be noticed that the usual exaggeration has made the Rebel force between 10 and 20,000.

This morning early I received a letter from Captain Collier copy annexed from which it will be seen that, that Officer under the impression that 5,000 men chiefly Cavalry and two Regts. of Infantry with several Guns threatened his post, has fallen back on Jabooghanj.

4. It is my firm belief, that had Captain Collier remained at Oodeypore, his force would have been as much exaggerated as that of the Rebels, and they disheartened by hearing of Tantia Topee's defeat at Oodeypore, Tantia Topee would have turned off at Ali Rajpore and the province saved from a 2nd Invasion.

5. The immediate consequences of Captain Collier's withdrawal have been, that the Raja of Oodeypore has fled and the most absurd and preposterous reports are spread throughout the city of Baroda.

6. Amongst others it is believed that the Ranee of Jhansi (who fell in action at Gwalior) is at the head of the present invading Column.

7. It is very necessary to do something to restore confidence or we shall have panic tonight in this city, there is absolutely no danger whatever, except the excitement arising from these mischievous reports.

8. It is my intention to move this Evening through the City to Ruttonpoor
 the force entered in the margin. H. M's
 2 Guns of Battery. 33rd Band will play. Therefore as
 100 European Infantry. far as the Palace and from thence
 100 Native Infantry. the Maharaja's Band will play it
 out of the City.

9. Major Vacher with 100 Europeans of 33rd is at Sonkheira today and I conclude that Captain Collier will join him at that place.

10. Brigdr. St. John has written to Major Vacher encouraging him to hold on and telling him that 25 Europeans and 2 Guns have already marched from Broach on Sonkheira via Dubhooee.

11. I calculate that the Rebels will not be at Oodeypore before today and the chances are they will not arrive there before tomorrow.

12. They cannot possibly get farther than Jabooghang in one day, say 23rd they may be at Sonkheira by 24th and the reinforcement from Broach ought to reach Major Vacher on that day.

¹⁶¹ *Rajpur (Ali-Rajpur)*.—The Chief place of the former State of Ali-Rajpur better known locally as Rajpur, situated in 22° 11' N. and 74° 22' E. in Madhya Pradesh.

¹⁶² *Barwani (Barauni) Town*.—Formerly capital of the State of the same name in Central India, situated in 22° 2' N. 74° 54' E. 3 miles from the left bank of the Narbada. It is a Rly. junction on the North-Eastern Rly. (I. G. I., VII, p. 93).

13. Four Guns of K. Battery and 150 Europeans have been ordered by forced marches from Broach, to Baroda and Spring Carts have been sent out as far as Meagang¹⁵³ to help in the Infantry.

14. I think they may be here during tomorrow night and on the 24th I will increase the force going to Ruttonpore and advance it also to Sonkheira.

15. The enclosed copy of letter from Major Wallace will show the disposition he has made of the forces at his disposal near Godra.

16. In a private note from him he mentions a thing which struck me very particularly viz. "Tantia Topee told them he had another force coming up to which he would leave the punder of Godra and they are busy making arrears against that great Event."

Again

"I have I fear a bad account to give of the Barriah Durbar whose servants were seen in various places colluding with the Rebels but at present I shall not agitate this matter".

17. Of course Captain Collier's retrograde movement is a serious misfortune; I am also very much hampered by the fact of having no Cavalry whatever.

18. One Jamidar one Duffadar and two Sowars are positively the only cavalry at Baroda but still the enemy is so contemptible that I think the Bombay Government need be under no anxiety.

No. 59.—*The Government regret over Capt. Collier's retrograde movement from Chota Udepur and approve Sir Shakespear's arrangement of troops to face the enemy.*

No. 4527 of 1858

(pp. 343-4)

To

Brigadier General Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter with enclosures No. 1706 dated the 27th instant relative to the state of affairs in Guzerat.

2. In reply I am desired to inform you that the R. H. G. C. regrets that Captain Collier should have accepted apparently without enquiry a native report. If that Officer had considered for a moment he might have been convinced that the rumour which induced him to fall back from Chota Oodeypoor was either a gross exaggeration or a positive falsehood. It was not likely that a force of five thousand Cavalry with two Regiments of Infantry and Guns could have passed through the country on either side of the Nerbudda without any of the Military or Political Officers becoming aware of the fact, and if they had been aware of it, it was certain that you would have been apprised of it and that you would in that case have either reinforced or withdrawn Captain Collier's detachment.

¹⁵³ Miyagam.—A town near Vemar Rly. Station in Karjan, D. Baroda, Gujarat State.

3. A copy of your communication will be forwarded to H. E. the Commander in Chief to whom it will be left to determine how far an officer of Captain Collier's position is justified in abandoning his post upon the grounds which have been adduced in the present case, but the R. H. G. C. cannot doubt that Captain Collier has incurred a very grave responsibility as a Military Officer.

4. It is now known that there were no rebels near Chota Oodeypoor and therefore no orders are required upon your letter but the arrangements made by you to meet the imaginary enemy are approved by Government.

B. C.

(Id.) H. L. A.

31st Decr. 1858.

No. 60.—*Shakespear reports to Government that the forces East of the Mhye are placed under Brigr. Parke and that the rebel forces which are divided ejected the Rawal of Banswara.*

No. 1664 of 1858.

(pp. 347-49).

From

Brigr. Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

To

H. L. Anderson, Esquire,
Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Dated Baroda 15th December 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to forward for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council, copy of my letter No. 1648 of yesterday's date to Brigadier Parke and also of one to Major Wallace No. 1663 of today.

	Europeans			Natives		
	Guns	Cavalry	Infantry	Guns	Cavalry	Infantry
Capt. Muter's force	..	..	..	125	3	140
Captain Thompson's	..	2	..	..	..	50
At Godra	..	..	..	100	..	..
En route to Godra	..	2	..	150	..	..
Captain Whitehill	..	..	..	..	..	165
Captain Hayward	..	..	..	..	..	125
Total ..	4	..	375	3	480	400

2. It will be seen that the whole of the Forces East of the Mhye have been placed under Brigadier Parke, they will in a few days, be as per margin. The total will be 7 Guns 480 Native Cavalry, 375 European Infantry and 400 Native Infantry in addition to his own troops.

3. The latest information of Brigadier Parke is that he was on 14th at Kudana on the Mhye River, about half way between Doongupore and Godra.

4. I have the honor to forward copy of Major Wallace's letter of 14th from which it would appear that the Rebels must have divided, we know one party ejected the Rawal of Banswara¹⁶⁴ on the 11th and another party appears to have been at Saugwarah on 12th, it will be noticed that Major Wallace has heard from the persons he sent with the Proclamation.

5. I have some hope that Captain Muter will have been joined on 12th by one Troop Lancers, one Company High Landers and 100 Native Infantry, sent by Colonel Somerset¹⁶⁵ from Sulana, but our latest news of Captain Muter is that he was at Jhallore on 11th and intended to advance on Banswara.

6. The place now threatened is Burra Oodeypoor, but I hope the Rebels may be destroyed before reaching it.

No. 60.—*The Pol. Commr. indicates the Government's desire that the rebels should submit rather than they should be compelled to be crushed and that they should be made known with the Queen's Proclamation.*

No. 1553 of 1858.

(pp. 361-67)

From

Brigadier Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner, Guzerat.

To

Captain Buckle,
On Special Duty with Brigr. Parke's Force, Oodeypoor.

Dated Baroda 5th December 1858.

Sir,

Having desired Brigadier Parke to replace you at the disposal of the Political Department, I proceed to lay down such general rules as may be useful for your guidance.

2. It is the anxious desire of the Government of India, that the Rebels should submit rather than that we should be compelled to crush them.

3. In the hope that out of the 3500 Rebels lately at Oodeypoor, by far the greater number would gladly avail themselves of the benefits of Her Majesty's Proclamation, could it reach them I request that you will mention to Brigadier Parke that I think all the prisoners taken in the late action should be made over to you.

¹⁶⁴ *Rawal of Banswara.*—The Chiefs of the Banswara were a junior branch of the Dungarpur family, and consequently Sesodia, Rajputs of the Ahariya. The late Maharawal Lachhman Singh, died in Sept. 1905 after a rule of sixty-one years and was succeeded by his eldest son, Shambhu Singh, who was born in October, 1868. The chief of this State was entitled as Maharawal, and received a Salute of 15 guns.

¹⁶⁵ *Col. Somerset C. H. (H. M. S.).*—Appointed on 10th August 1855 in the Military section of the personal staff of the Governor, Lord Elphinstone.

4. From amongst them I should like you to select not less than 10 of the most intelligent and such as you think most likely to rejoin the bodies of rebels.

Those 10 men should have the Proclamation carefully explained to them.

They should be told that as they were taken prisoners and did not voluntarily surrender themselves they cannot claim the benefit of the Proclamation, but that I release them in order that they may make known the contents of the paper to the Rebels still in arms.

5. I do not think it improbable that you might through the means of these prisoners have the means of separating very influential masses from such desperate leaders as Tantia Topee whose crimes I understand exclude him from the benefits held out in the Proclamation.

It is not improbable that some of the prisoners may themselves ask you whether their brethren with the Rebels could obtain any terms. A negotiation should not be volunteered by you, because it may be misunderstood by men who are still in arms, but it is the duty of every servant of Government to endeavour to explain to the utmost of his ability the real mercies of this Proclamation, and to do his utmost to secure the paper reaching the Rebels.

6. In two words I am quite certain that Government would consider that any officer who succeeded in persuading masses of these misguided men to give up their arms, on their lives and liberties being spared to them, performed a much more valuable and acceptable service than if he destroyed them by a successful general action.

7. Mr. Bonnor will explain to you all particulars regarding the local rebellion of Roop Sing and you will turn your attention to endeavour to make some settlement of that question.

8. I think Oodeypoor is an important post to hold until we are quite certain that the masses of rebels have moved out of Rewa Kanta. It is a convenient spot too, for arrangements with the Naikras, but after being relieved by Brigadier Parke¹⁶⁶ from Military duty, you are to consider yourself at perfect liberty to regulate your own movements.

9. Major Wallace has been very ill but I am happy to say is now recovering.

Government has decided at my suggestion on placing Mhye Kanta as well as Rewa Kanta under him and if you are available for the Rewa Kanta I should wish Major Wallace to move as soon as he can in the direction of Edur.

You would be subordinate to him and he would send you detailed instructions about Rewa Kanta.

10. As soon as you can spare them I think the Gaekwar and Guzerat Irregular Horse who have accompanied you during your arduous and prolonged marches should be allowed to return to their Head Quarters.

¹⁶⁶ On 1st December 1858. Gen. Parke defeated Tatya Tope when the latter had encamped before the own of Chota Udepur (I. G. I., X, p. 331).

11. I have unfortunately no vernacular copies of the Proclamation left, but I sent all I could find here to the Durbar Agent who is with Captain Collier, desiring him if possible to disseminate them in the enemy's camp at Oodeypoor before your arrival. They did not reach him in time and if he has them with him Captain Collier has been desired to send them with this letter to you. I enclose an English copy of the Proclamation which will enable you verbally to explain the purport to the prisoners.

The Raja of Oodeypoor has received a copy officially from Major Wallace and of course you can get copies made.

P. S.

Since the above was written I have received information from Captain Muter at Godra, that 2 parties of Rebels about 250 strong returned from Barriah in the direction of Hallore and remained all the 3rd at a spot about 12 miles from Godra. They were there so late as yesterday evening and would probably have plundered Godra this morning had not Captain Muter been there.

The Cavalry that went with you from Baroda is emergently required for the protection of His Highness' own Territory.

It should proceed as quickly as possible by Jaitpore and Jamboogharia to Waghoria.

No. 62.—*Capt. Buckle reports the despatch of Royal Proclamation to the rebels' camp. He explains his movements from Barriah to Godhra for meeting Major Wallace.*

(pp. 369-71).

From

Captain C. Buckle,
On Special Duty.

To

Brigadier Genl. Sir R. Shakespear Kt.,
Political Commissioner in Guzerat.

Camp Godra,
13th December 1858.

Sir,

I do myself the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1553, dated 5th Instant, and to report that, I selected through the agency of Rissaldar Modoo Buksh of the Guzerat Horse, an intelligent Mahomedan prisoner lately belonging to the 5th Irregular Cavalry (mutineers engaged in the fight at Oodeypoor) and forwarded him towards the rebel Camp at Jhallode with Persian translation of

the Royal Proclamation. As I traced him in the disguise of a Fuqueer [Fakir] through Barreah I have reason to suppose that he is endeavouring to act up to his promises. I am carrying with me 3 other Prisoners on whom I have not equal dependence, but whom I intend to release on a convenient opportunity in furtherance of the object you have in view.

2. I have the honor to report that I have been replaced at the disposal of the Political Department by Brigadier Parke. From Bareah I made a detour to Godra yesterday, for the purpose of meeting Major Wallace and am now starting to give Brigadier Parke Assistance during his stay at Loonawarra.

3. From the direction taken by the rebels it appears probable that, Brigadier Parke will cross the Rewa Kanta frontier immediately and as Captain Annesley has been sent for by express I shall be at liberty to return to Godra in a very few days. I have therefore the honor to request permission to receive charge of the Rewa Kanta with orders from Major Wallace who awaits my arrival at this place before proceeding to the other division of his charge.

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